This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

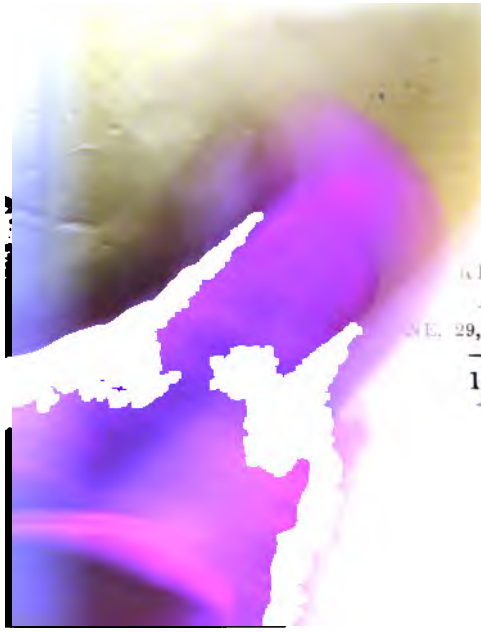
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

600051598Y

42. 13



BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

ON:

TIMER ST., CAVENDISH SQ.

AND

NE. 29, NEW BOND STREET.

1842.

MEMOIRS OF

THE RIGHT HONORABLE

SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART.,

FIRST LORD OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY.

BY THE AUTHOR OF

"THE LIFE OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON."

"Another of his fashion they have not;
To lead their business."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

T. C. NEWBY, 65, MORTIMER ST., CAVENDISH SQ.
AND
T. & W. BOONE, 29, NEW BOND STREET.

1842.

T. C. Newby, Printer, 65, Mortimer Street, Cavendish Square.

MEMOIR OF

THE RIGHT HONORABLE

SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART.

On the various changes which daily present themselves to the notice of those who are attentive observers of passing events, there are few more extraordinary than the instances which occur of persons emerging from comparative obscurity, and, by the display of some peculiar talent, accompanied by persevering industry and undeviating integrity, obtaining for themselves, with astonishing rapidity, immense wealth; and securing for their families and descendants a standing in society far exceeding what the imagination of their im-

mediate ancestry, in their most sanguine dreams of future prosperity, could have anticipated.

Reflecting on this subject, and more especially on its frequent occurrence in this commercial country, the mind reverts with peculiar satisfaction to those instances, in which the founders have, by mercantile adventure and metropolitan traffic, conducted with honor to themselves and advantage to their country, obtained that unbounded affluence to which we have alluded. To the descendants of some of the individuals here described, the country owes many of its most distinguished nobility, its statesmen, its heroes, and its legislators. From these have sprung many of our bishops and clergy, our judges, our senators, our lawyers, and our naval and military heroes; and to these families, the offspring of our country, as they may justly be called, we are indebted for a never-failing source on which to draw in times of need for fresh supplies of talent and of virtue.

We have been led to these reflections by a consideration of the subject to which the following pages are devoted—" a brief sketch of the public career of the present representa-

tive of the Peel family, the Right Honorable Member for Tamworth," the rise of whose ancestry forms an apt illustration of our preceding observations. Numerous as are the instances which the commercial history of our country presents of individual families acquiring immense wealth in a comparatively short space of time, few can be found which form a parallel with the progress of the family of the late Sir Robert Peel in their rapid accumulation of property; whilst the splendid career of the present Right Hon. Baronet, as a public man, has tended to establish the political reputation of his family, and placed him in the distinguished situation which he now occupies in the councils of his sovereign and the government of his country; and which has drawn upon him, not only the attention of the British empire at this important crisis, but that of all Europe, as to one on whose opinion, as regards the policy, foreign and domestic, to be adopted by England, not only the prosperity and tranquillity of the British Empire, but that of the continent of Europe, and indeed of the whole civilized world mainly depends.

It has more than once been observed, and with great truth, by public writers, when

discussing the merits of the two great political parties who, since the period of the revolution, have each in their turn held the reins of government in this country, the Whigs and the Tories; that the rule of the latter had always been conducted on much more popular principles than that of the former. This fact, extraordinary as it may appear, is to be accounted for on the ground that, whilst the Tory party consists of individuals sprung from, and connected with all classes of the people, the Whig leaders have always been selected from a narrow and circumscribed circle, composed of a small number of high aristocratic families, who have never mingled in or identified themselves with the great mass of their fellow subjects, or accommodated themselves in the slightest degree to the changes in public opinion, which time and the progress of events have brought about; and from this circumstance the two parties have invariably presented a contrast in their composition and tactics, which has always been considered as singularly incongruous with their political doctrines and professions. Thus, it is notorious, that the Whigs, while professing liberal and reforming doctrines, have invariably been trammelled and

restricted by the influences of personal or family connections. Their leaders in both Houses of Parliament have, with very few exceptions indeed, been members of, or connected with particular powerful families; and if in opposition to this almost unexceptionable rule, any one not strictly belonging to their own aristocratic order, has, by the weight of transcendant talent, the force of popular feeling, or, to use an expression which has of late been frequently adopted both in and out of Parliament —"the pressure from without," been forced upon them, and reluctantly admitted to participate in a Whig government, it has invariably been found that however highly such persons may have been estimated by the public, their opinions on political subjects have rarely had much weight with their colleagues in office. In support of this assertion we may safely mention the names of Burke, Sheridan, and Brougham, not one of whom, although occupying a prominent place in public estimation, and enjoying as public men the highest degree of popularity with that party among the people to which they were attached, ever possessed more than a very subordinate influence in the governments of

which they, at different periods, formed a part.

On the other hand the Tory party, though its measures have always had a tendency to support the prerogative of the crown, and the privileges of the aristocracy, has in fact always been much more under the influence of the democracy than its political rivals. This seemingly extraordinary circumstance may be accounted for readily enough, when it is recollected that our great Tory leaders have, in most instances, been taken from among the mass of the people; and from that class of persons already described, who, by an undeviating career of integrity of conduct, a persevering course of industrious application, and a successful pursuit of commercial and manufacturing adventure, have acquired a large stake in the country, both as regards property and reputation, but who, although exalted by the circumstances, here commented upon, to a rank in society far above their original sphere of action, do not fail to remember the source from which they sprung, or to cherish the recollection of those constitutional privileges which are the birthright of the people. The names of Dundas, Addington, Perceval, Canning, and many others

who have at different times taken the most prominent part in directing the government of this mighty empire, present a record of their democratic origin. They recal to recollection the humble source from which the Tory leaders, who rank most conspicuously in the pages of our history, have risen, and present to us a proud enrolment of those resplendent geniuses of the democracy, whom the great Tory aristocracy have been content to follow; and is at once an incontrovertible proof of the influence which talent has always asserted for itself in the freer and less restricted competition of the Tory party.

Of the prevalence of this liberality of sentiment on the part of the noble families who are ranged under the Tory banner, no stronger instance can be adduced than that presented by a review of the political career of the present Sir Robert Peel, whose origin is distinguished by its humbleness, and whose ancestry cannot be traced back beyond two generations. The father of the present Baronet, the late Sir R. Peel, was born at Peel's Cross, a short distance from Lancaster, on the 25th of April, in the year 1750; of his ancestry nothing more is known beyond the simple fact of his being the

son of Robert Peel, a manufacturer, of humble pretensions and small fortune, who died in 1736; leaving but a trifling provision for his widow; and little more to his son, than his good name, and an unsullied reputation.

The early years of the late Baronet's life were passed on his father's property, and under the paternal roof. From his boyhood's days he was impressed with an idea that he should accumulate great riches, and become the founder of a family; so strongly was this opinion impressed on his mind that it was the frequent theme of his discourse with his brothers; two of whom were his seniors, and to whom his dreams of ambition, and anticipations of future greatness proved sources of great amusement. He was however nothing daunted by their jeers, and in support of his anticipations of wealth and greatness, invariably urged his decided opinion that in this free country any situation was attainable by a good capacity, aided by prudence and perseverance.

Mr. Peel was brought up to the cotton trade, in which branch of manufacture his father was engaged. In the pursuit of his occupation he soon became aware of the importance of machinery in facilitating his operations; and with

an uncommon quickness of perception, which it is generally acknowledged he possessed, he speedily discovered that the apparatus then in use was susceptible of great improvement. He eagerly devoted himself to an investigation of the powers of mechanical combinations, more especially where they could be converted to the use and improvement of that particular branch of manufacture in which he was engaged. The success which attended, and ultimately rewarded his labours, proved how accurate his judgment was, and probably tended to give, even at that early period of his life, that spirit to his enterprises, and inspired him with that perseverance in habits of industry, which adhered to him in every stage of his future life, and under the influence of which he seemed never to have felt fatigue.

In the year 1773, at the age of twenty three, he engaged with Mr. Yates, of Bury in Lancashire, a gentleman of some note and considerable property in that part of the country, in the establishment of an extensive cotton manufactory, and through a period of ten years they pursued their career of uninterrupted success. At the expiration of that time he married his partner's daughter, Miss Yates, then

little more than seventeen, he having attained the age of thirty three. Mr. Peel's fortune had at this time so much improved that he purchased a considerable estate in the county of Lancaster, and a very few years afterwards added to his landed property, also by purchase, some very extensive estates situate in Staffordshire and Warwickshire.

About this time, namely in 1780, he drew upon himself the attention of the public in another character, that of an author. The subject selected by Mr. Peel for his debut was "The National Debt," and its effects on the prosperity of the country; a question on which there existed at that time a great difference of opinion. The arguments brought forward by Mr. Peel, in support of his view of the question, were fraught with novelty, and advanced and supported with great ingenuity. At this period, the close of the American war, the great increase of the national debt had excited much alarm in the commercial world; amongst whom an apprehension prevailed almost generally, that the heavy burden of the funded debt must eventually operate to fetter our exertions, if it did not ultimately lead to national bankruptcy. The object of Mr. Peel was to

remove this apprehension from the minds of his contemporaries; with this view he boldly asserted that the national wealth was not diminished by the increased amount of the public debt, and that persons who entertained a different opinion were led to that conclusion, by confounding a public with a private engagement. Mr. Peel at once proceeded fearlessly to take the bull by the horns. The title of his address went to the point. "The National Debt Productive of National Prosperity." In supporting the opinion thus boldly put forth Mr. Peel maintained that "A domestic public debt, owed by the community at large, to a part of the same community, could not impair the aggregate wealth of that community; and that if a given sum, however large, were annually raised from the people, to pay the interest of the debt, the same sum being received by the public creditors, and laid out in the purchase of articles of necessity and comfort for themselves, provided by national industry, circulates at home, and, in its transit from one possessor to another, gives birth to new sources and modifications of wealth." The opinion thus given, novel as it was, and contrary to the generally received notion on the subject, gained many

proselytes, and the experience of years has added greatly to the number of those who are fully prepared to argue that the national debt and national prosperity are bound up together.

It has frequently been a matter of surprise to those who knew Mr. Peel in his early life, at what period and by what means he acquired those intellectual attainments, which at a later period he frequently displayed. The answer which has been given on other occasions to similar questions will apply in this instance, namely, that the powers of genius do not require the plodding application of common minds, but embrace the acquisition of ideas, and the comprehension of truth with a facility, which is, in some cases, truly astonishing; indeed those who knew him in his youth state, that he early discovered an ardent thirst for the acquirement of knowledge. The hours devoted by others of his age to recreation were by him passed in laborious study and close application. The plan of reading which he prescribed for himself was judicious, and the tenacity of his memory enabled him fully to retain what he had read, and to avail himself of the knowledge he acquired, thus early, in his after life.

Mr. Peel, having by his successful commer-

cial and manufacturing pursuits realized a large landed property, and risen to high consideration in his native county, at the general election of 1790, offered himself as a candidate for representing the Borough of Tamworth, for which place he was returned triumphantly. He took his seat in due course, and continued to represent the Borough for thirty years, having been successively re-elected at the general elections of 1796, 1802, 1806, 1807, 1812, and 1818, and in 1820, he resigned his seat, and was succeeded in the representation of the Borough by his second son, William Yates Peel, who, under the brief administration of his brother, Sir Robert, held the appointment of Under Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Tamworth, which had formerly and for a long period of time carried on a considerable trade as connected with the clothing manufacture of Yorkshire, had, at the time Mr. Peel became its representative in Parliament, in 1790, suffered much in its trade from the successful rivalry which had sprung up against it in the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire; and its interests, so far as trade was concerned, were at a very low ebb. Its inhabitants, however, were soon made sensible of the cheering

influence of their new member upon their fortunes. The introduction of the cotton manufacture, aided by the capital and interest of Mr. Peel and his partner, Mr. Yates, had the effect of rapidly restoring the trade of Tamworth. Extensive cotton works were erected amongst them; and the inhabitants soon began to resume their habits of industry, and to exhibit once more in their appearance the smiling aspect of plenty. As a proof how extensive were the connexions of Mr. Peel, it may here be noted, that in the year 1803 the number of persons employed by him exceeded fifteen thousand, and during that year he paid duty to the excise office, on printed goods alone, upwards of forty thousand pounds. As a further proof, if further proof were necessary, of the wealth of the house of Yates and Peel, and of the patriotic spirit by which those gentlemen were actuated, it may be here stated that in the year 1797, when the country was threatened with invasion by an enterprising and powerful enemy, they presented to the voluntary fund then raising for carrying on the war against Bounaparte no less a sum than £10,000; and in the following year Mr. Peel, in addition to the very liberal support and patronage which

he bestowed on the Lancashire Fencibles and the Tamworth armed association, embodied, armed and disciplined, and placed himself at the head of six companies of volunteers, mostly formed of his own workmen, and distinguished by the title of the " Bury Loyal Volunteers."

Whilst Mr. Peel was thus giving effective and liberal aid to the government in carrying on the arduous contest in which the country was engaged, and giving to the minister of the day his firm and constant support in parliament, his conduct towards his constituents was that of a manly, constitutional representative of the people; always confidently anticipating that the manliness and independence of his parliamentary course, and his constant and unremitting attention to the general interests of the empire, would obtain the approbation of his constituents and insure him their support whenever the time should arrive that a dissolution of parliament would afford them an opportunity of pronouncing a judgment upon his political conduct. Acting on this impression, and influenced by constitutional principle, he seems never to have availed himself of the influence which his princely fortune and extensive com-

mercial and manufacturing establishments placed within his power.

In the Senate, Mr. Peel frequently distinguished himself in the important discussions to which the passing events of the times gave rise; and the good sense which characterised his arguments, added to the high standing which he supported in the mercantile world, invariably secured for him an attentive hearing from the House. In 1799, during the discussions which took place on the question relative to the Union with Ireland, Mr. Peel, on the 14th of February, delivered a speech in favour of the measure, which was considered as declaratory of the opinion entertained by the mercantile portion of the community, as regarded the Union. It therefore excited considerable interest in this country, and having been published in the shape of a pamphlet, was widely circulated in Ireland, where it produced a very great effect, and contributed much towards reconciling the population of that portion of the empire, to a measure in which they were so nearly concerned. The manly tone of this address, and the importance of the arguments which Mr. Peel brought forward in support of

the opinions which he entertained, carried conviction to the minds of many who had previously been undecided; and at this time, when Mr. O'Connell is so strongly urging a repeal of that Union from which, as a commercial country, all parties, whatever may be their political feelings or religious principles, are prepared to admit that Ireland has so greatly benefitted, the arguments used by Mr. Peel in support of the measure, cannot fail to be interesting.

The address in question was delivered in the course of the debate which took place, on the principle of the measure, on the 14th of February 1799, when, after some preliminary observations, which he stated he considered necessary to make, lest he might be charged with inconsistency, Mr. Peel observed:—

"In the year 1785, during the discussion of the Irish arrangements, as they were called, I was a petitioner at your bar against the question; and I am warranted in saying, that I carried with me the sentiments of a great proportion of the trading interests of England. The object of those arrangements was to open a freer intercourse between the two independent kingdoms; the one possessing great foreign dominions, and a universal commerce; the

other possessing no foreign dominions, and very little trade; and, consequently, enjoying separate interests, as they always must, while they have separate legislatures, because they may become separate in fact. It was apparent, then, that those arrangements, however well intended, would have been prejudicial to the manufactures of Great Britain. The support I have given to the present measure does not arise from a change of sentiments, but of circumstances. This plan embraces great advantages, both political and commercial, which, by uniting two countries into one, are calculated to add strength and security to the empire; and is so essentially necessary at this time, when a daring attempt has been made, both by intrigue and force, to separate the countries, that inferior considerations ought not to weigh against a plan which bids fair to frustrate such attempts, and to consolidate both the interests and affections of the sister kingdom. By a union we shall become one people; and though the benefits, in a commercial point of view, will be chiefly in favour of Ireland, yet, if an opinion may be formed of the sentiments of the trading body of this nation, from their patriotic and respectful silence, a disposi-

tion is manifested to stretch out a friendly arm to their distressed brethren, to raise them from their present unhappy state, to a condition of ease and comfort similar to our own. This conduct does the British merchants and manufacturers so much honor, that I feel particular pleasure in classing myself among that highly valuable body of men. Though a friend to the principle of the measure, I think it, however, my duty to draw the attention of the House to the sixth resolution. It must be the intention of every one to place the two countries on an equal footing; and though nothing can be apprehended unfavorable to this country, during the present low circumstances of Ireland, it may have an operation, at a future time, highly prejudicial to our domestic industry. Each country is to provide for its own public debt; and that of Great Britain being infinitely larger than that of Ireland, heavy taxes are necessarily imposed on almost every article of consumption, which has so strong a tendency to enhance the price of labour, that goods manufactured under such a pressure, cannot be rendered on equally low terms with the produce of labour in places where similar burdens do not exist. Unless

this objection be removed, the measure cannot be expected to have the concurrence of Great Britain. I feel it the more necessary to urge this point, having perceived a want of that liberality on the part of the Irish government, which characterises our own. The commercial intercourse now subsisting between the two countries has lost every feature of reciprocity, British manufactures being heavily taxed on their admission into Ireland, while the goods of that kingdom meet with every encouragement here. Whatever may be the conduct of Ireland respecting the proposition of a union, I trust the firmness of administration will be such as to refuse all concession to menace and intrigue; and that the aid which it may be deemed necessary to extend in future to that nation, will be received as the genuine offspring of affection: I will always oppose the giving much for nothing, when demanded as a matter of right.

" Having said thus much as a commercial man, I beg further indulgence of the House as a member of Parliament; though it may be deemed presumption in me to speak on a subject which has engaged the first abilities in this House; and after a display of talent on

both sides, which never was exceeded, I see, with satisfaction, distinguished members of opposition in their places, because I think that their attendance on great constitutional questions induces discussion highly useful and gratifying to the nation; I cannot, however, compliment them on the grounds they have taken in the present debate. The interests of Great Britain are so deeply involved in this question, that I did expect that the nature and extent of the sacrifices to be made on our part would have been strongly laid down, and would have formed such a contrast to the imperial advantages so forcibly stated by the friends of administration, as to have enabled the House to have come to a matured decision on the subject. Not having been so assisted, my first impressions are unaltered; and therefore I shall give the measure my continued support. The independence of the Irish legislature having been unequivocally acknowledged by ministers, as it had been by parliament, and strenuously insisted upon by the other side of the House; I am the more surprised to find that the measure of the union has been debated by the latter on Irish interests only, as if the question were to be finally disposed of here, without

being argued elsewhere. There are scarcely two opinions in this House respecting the utility of a union at the proper time, and on fair and equitable terms ; though several gentlemen have expressed their marked disapprobation of the measure at this period. Considering the state of Ireland, with a weak government, a disunited people, and with the standard of rebellion erected in many parts of it; this plan is calculated to remove such alarming disorders, and the sooner the remedy is applied the better.

" The manner of bringing forward the resolutions is objectionable. Several gentlemen are of opinion that they ought first to have been submitted to the Irish Parliament before they had experienced discussion here. If the union involved in it sacrifices to be made exclusively on the part of Ireland, the complaint would have been just; the contrary, however, being the case, and the concessions confined to Great Britain, such a proceeding would have been highly disrespectful, and injurious to this country.

" The feeling of pride and national consequence have been awakened in Ireland; they cannot reconcile themselves to the loss of their

separate state, and distinct legislature; these are valuable privileges, boasted to have been acquired by their own exertions and patriotism, aided by the liberality of the British Parliament. But, let me ask, has not Great Britain likewise valuable privileges, purchased with the blood of our ancestors? a distinct kingdom, and an independent legislature; a people united and removed from every danger, either foreign or domestic. In forming, therefore, an imperial legislature, Ireland loses no rights which are not likewise surrendered by Great Britain; the distinct kingdoms will be mingled into one compact body, and thereby derive additional strength and security; Ireland will gain, by the proposed union, an *imperial* legislature, instead of a local legislature.

"The small proportion of Irish members forming a part of the imperial parliament, is considered by many as a surrender of their independence. That an opinion so unfounded should be entertained by a stranger to the character and constitution of the British Parliament, does not excite much astonishment; but that it should meet with the smallest countenance from those who have uniformly declared that any change in the Irish representation

must be for the better, is, I own, a little extraordinary. Every member of this House is a representative of Great Britain, and does not consider his duties confined to that place for which he was chosen. Yorkshire and Lancashire are the most extensive and flourishing counties in England, though individually they are most inadequately represented. When, therefore, the two countries are incorporated, it will be both the duty and the inclination of every member composing the imperial parliament, to promote the interests of Ireland equally with that of every other part of the United Kingdom. Instead, therefore, of Ireland losing two thirds of her members, she will increase the number from three hundred to six hundred and fifty eight; and I shall not be contradicted in saying, that if a union should take place, it will be one of their first duties to administer relief, and to ameliorate the condition of the people of Ireland, to communicate to them British comforts, and make them as flourishing and happy as the people of Great Britain are, from enjoying the benefits of a more liberal system.

"The remarks of the honorable member who spoke first, (Mr. Hobhouse) respecting the in-

crease of Absentees, merits particular notice. I am ready to admit to the fullest extent, the injury which has already resulted to the sister kingdom from this circumstance. In a country, however, governed by equal laws and a free constitution, I see no practicable means of compelling a residence, or removing the existing evil, under the present order of things. The proposed Union will have an effect the very reverse of that on which the honorable gentleman founds his opposition. Scotland and the parts of England most remote from London, sustain no injury on account of the people of rank and property spending a great portion of their time and income in the metropolis; manufactures and other considerable objects of labour, generally flourish most at a distance from the seat of luxury, and the gay pursuits of genteel life. The want of access to the money circulating in England, keeps Ireland comparatively poor and unindustrious. When the British markets are, therefore, laid open, property sent from that kingdom will be returned through the medium of industry, by which an equilibrium will be restored.

"The mind, unaccustomed to embrace objects of immense magnitude, will be assisted by

a commercial intercourse. Suppose two houses in business, one of which is of the first respectability, with an immense capital and extensive dealings with every part of the globe, the other in a comparatively low situation, with but little property, limited credit, and confined connections, and a proposal is made by the former to take the latter into partnership on equal terms; such an offer never having been refused, we may easily suppose is eagerly accepted; in this case, each party will lose its distinct firm, and the two houses become one. It is unnecessary to ask here, on which side the advantage lies, though both may be benefited.

"The clamours raised against the Union by interested men in Ireland, may, for a time, mislead the judgment of many persons; the delusion, however, cannot be of long continuance; and a proposition the most liberal on the part of Great Britain, and on the acceptance of which the salvation of Ireland depends, must be received with sentiments of satisfaction and gratitude in the end, when reason shall take the place of passion, when policy shall prevail over prejudice, and wisdom shall govern where enthusiasm misleads."

Such were the opinions entertained on the

great political measure of the union, by one of the greatest merchants and manufacturers of the age in which he lived; its plain and manly tone, made a considerable impression on the house; and, as has been already observed, out of doors it contributed in a considerable degree to reconcile, to the proposition of the government, parties, previously hostile to it, on both sides the channel.

A period of nearly half a century has passed over since the union between Great Britain and Ireland received the sanction of Parliament; and the legislatures of the two countries were blended in one. We have since seen this measure followed by another, of as great or greater importance than the union; that of Catholic Emancipation; and in carrying this latter measure, the son of Mr. Peel, the successor to his honors and estates, took a prominent part; giving to the bill the support of his splendid talent, and all the influence which his situation as one of the principal ministers of the crown enabled him to give it. The object of both these measures was the conciliating and tranquilising Ireland, how far that object has been obtained is to be judged of by the effect they have produced; an effect which has cer-

tainly fallen far short of the anticipations of those with whom the measures originated, and who were their most energetic supporters.

In November, 1800, the King, George the Third, as a mark of his especial favour, and in proof of his Majesty's approbation of Mr. Peel's conduct both in private life, and as a public man, conferred on him the dignity of a Baronet of the United Kingdom: and at the general election which followed the union, Sir Robert Peel was again elected member for Tamworth, for which borough he was returned in six successive Parliaments.

In the session of 1802, Sir Robert introduced into the House a measure for bettering the condition of apprentices in the cotton and woollen trade; having prepared the way for the adoption of such a measure, by the introduction of various salutary regulations into his own extensive factories; limiting the hours of labour, providing proper nutriment for the children, enforcing a strict observance of cleanliness, and affording them instruction, religious and moral. By his personal exertions and influence, he succeeded, in the face of a powerful opposition, in getting a bill passed providing for the observance of all these points.

These regulations had been imperatively required, for although human labour had been so much abridged by the introduction of machinery in these branches of our commerce; yet the extraordinary increase which had taken place in both these branches of manufacture within the last twenty years, arising from these improvements, had given increased employment to many thousands of persons, mostly children, taken from parish houses in the metropolis, and from different parts of the country. At this period Sir Robert Peel employed upwards of 15,000 persons, many of whom were mere children. These children, as above observed, were generally taken from the ranks of pauper population; from those who had been, and were, a burden on their respective parishes. By binding them apprentice to the different manufacturers, this burden was got rid of, and overseers, and parish officers, in their great anxiety to relieve their respective districts from so heavy an expence, sometimes unwittingly forgot the tender mercies of humanity, and the unfortunate children were not unfrequently sent to factories where proper accommodation was not provided for them, their morals neglected, and where they often

in a short time, became the victims of infectious disease, the off-spring of excessive labour, of unwholesome food, and of the want of attention to personal cleanliness. Sir Robert Peel, although these evils did not exist in the extensive establishments under his controul and direction, had long witnessed and lamented their existence in other large manufactories; and he frequently declared that it was one of the greatest gratifications he had ever felt, when he reflected that, to his exertions and sacrifices as a public man, he was indebted for that influence, which had enabled him to carry through parliament a measure, which, in its operation, tended so materially to reduce the sum of human misery, which had previously been so prevalent, and which had, for some time before the passing of Sir Robert Peel's Bill, as it was called, been daily on the increase.

Sir Robert, from his first entrance into Parliament down to the time of Mr. Pitt's death, was a firm and steady supporter of administration; and when, in 1802, a vote of censure was moved in the House of Commons against that eminent statesman, the member for Tamworth delivered an able speech in his defence.

" I believe," said he, " that to the measures of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, I owe the liberty of delivering my sentiments in this house; that to him I owe the possession of that wealth and rise in the world which my industry has acquired: I do not speak solely of myself; the same may be said of every individual whose industry has succeeded under his protection. He has been the benefactor of his country; he has neglected no one's interest but his own."

In his person Sir Robert was tall, manly looking, and well proportioned. His eye, when he spoke, lighted up and imparted to his countenance a peculiar degree of animation. In his address he was at all times affable, unembarrassed, and particularly engaging. Being wholly free from affectation, and perfectly unassuming himself, he posssessed in a very high degree the art of dispelling in strangers, unperceived to themselves, all painful feelings of diffidence, and thus, by adapting himself with great ease to the circumstances of others, rendered his manner pleasing to all, by making them pleased with themselves. The friend of merit, however humble, he was equally disposed and competent to resist the insolence of

oppression, and to rebuke arrogance and self-sufficiency. With the utmost liberality towards those who differed from him in religious opinions, Sir Robert Peel was the decided supporter of the Established Church. He gave every encouragement, by undeviating example, to promote religion amongst his work people; and by his regular attendance on divine worship, with his numerous family of children and domestics, he excited among his tenantry a more lively interest in their respective duties.

To enter into a detail of all his private and public acts of charity and benevolence, which have by various means been well authenticated, would only occupy too large a space in our pages, and would besides give to this notice too much of the character of panegyric, whilst it is the intention of the writer, and has been his study, to confine his narration to matters of fact only, from which the reader may safely. and without difficulty, draw his own conclusion. His honorable career as a mercantile man rendered him worthy of the immense fortune he acquired; whilst the use he made of riches, by applying them to the distribution of comfort among all those by whom he was surrounded,

and by alleviating, as far as human aid could do so, the miseries and sufferings of sickness and poverty, gave ample proof that he duly appreciated the first duty of Christianity. His liberality, however, never degenerated into extravagance or careless prodigality. Long after he had ceased to consider the accumulation of wealth, as calculated to be productive of increase of happiness, except as supplying more extensive means of doing good, he still continued to persevere in his accustomed habit of minute attention to his financial concerns. His mansion was the residence of hospitality, unencumbered with any ostentatious display of superior wealth. His ear was at all times open to the petitions of the indigent, his hand was ever ready to relieve distress; and the deserving never left his gate with their wants unattended to; and many instances are known and recorded of his exercising a most munificent liberality. Public institutions of extensive utility found in him an active patron. He was a governor of Christ's Hospital, and Vice President of the Literary Fund. He was also a Vice President of the Society for Benefitting the Condition of the Poor, to which institution, in 1801, he presented a donation of £1,000.

He was also President of the House of Recovery in Manchester, to which he made annual donations; and he was also a liberal benefactor to the poor of Tamworth, as well as to the working classes of Bury, in Lancashire.

Among various acts of munificence the following deserve to be noticed:—A living on his estate having become vacant, he solicited the Chancellor, with every prospect of success, to bestow it upon the Rev. ———, a gentleman every way deserving the appointment. At this period, however, the seals were suddenly and unexpectedly transferred to other hands, and the living was presented to another person. The disappointment was a severe one to the person most interested, but to alleviate it, Sir Robert purchased, and presented to his friend, a living of equal value. On another occasion, a house of the first class in the cotton trade, by engaging in speculations injudiciously, and beyond its means, was reduced to the verge of bankruptcy: nothing could have saved it from the gulph, had not a rumour of the fact reached Sir Robert, who, convinced of the honor and integrity of the parties, immediately and secretly interposed, and by the advance of a sum exceeding £14,000. rescued them from the impending

calamity, and saved them from that which, but for the princely liberality of their disinterested friend, must have overtaken them—utter ruin.

A family, consisting of two sons and three daughters, the whole of whose property, which was very large, had been embarked in trade, was suddenly reduced to a complete wreck, and the daughters, who had entrusted their portion, about £5,000 each, to their brothers, shared in the domestic misfortunes of their house. Sir Robert Peel obtained honorable and lucrative employment for both the sons, and presented the daughters with £1,000 each. These are but few of the many instances of delicate and prompt benevolence which distinguished the course of this excellent individual, and which might be here narrated; but sufficient has already been stated to enable every reader to form a due estimate of the character of the late Sir Robert Peel. He died on the 3rd of May 1830, closing his career at a ripe old age—eighty years; ennobled by a life of integrity and consistency, and bearing to the grave the reputation that his moral virtues and political principles were alike unsullied. He was interred at Drayton, and was succeeded in

the Baronetcy by his eldest son, Robert, the present Right Honorable Baronet.

Sir Robert, as has been already stated, was twice married. His first lady was Miss Yates, the daughter of Wm. Yates, Esq., of Bury, his partner in the extensive manufacturing concerns, in which, at an early period of life, he was engaged. By this lady he had a numerous progeny; consisting of six sons and five daughters: First, Mary, married to the Right Hon. George Robert Dawson. Second, Elizabeth, united to the Rev. William Cockburn, Dean of York, brother of Sir James Cockburn, Bart. and Admiral Sir George Cockburn. Third, the Right Hon. Robert Peel, who has succeeded to the title; and Fourth, Wm. Yates Peel, Esq. married to Lady Jane Moore, daughter to the Earl of Mount Cashel; Fifth, Edmund Peel, Esq., married to Emily, daughter of John Swinfen, Esq., of Swinfen Hall, Stoffordshire; Sixth and Seventh, Eleanora and Anne, who died in infancy; Eighth, the Rev. John Peel, Prebendary of Canterbury, and Vicar of Stone, in Worcestershire. married to Augusta, another daughter of Mr. Swinfen. Ninth, Lieutenant Colonel Jonathan Peel, married to Lady Alicia

Jane Kennedy, daughter of the Marquis of Ailsa, K. T. Tenth, Lawrence, married to Lady Jane Lennox, daughter of the Duke of Richmond, and eleventh, Harriet, married to the Right Hon. Lord Henley, a master in Chancery, who died in the early part of the year 1841. By this enumeration it will be perceived that, previous to his decease, the venerable Baronet had the gratification of seeing his children married into some of the most noble families in the kingdom; and so numerous were his descendants that, on the anniversary of his seventy-eighth birthday, he saw himself surrounded by no less than fifty children and grand children, to each of whom in commemoration of that meeting and its cause, he presented a splendid silver medal.

In October, 1805, Sir Robert, having some time previously lost his first wife, married a second time, to Susannah, sister of the Revd. Sir Wm. Clarke, Baronet; rector of Bury, in Lancashire; by this lady he had no children. She died in September, 1824, at the age of seventy-two.

The will of the deceased Baronet was proved by his executors on the 8th of June 1830; the personals were sworn at what is technically

called "upper value," namely, upwards of nine hundred thousand pounds, an instance which had never previously to that time occurred. The probate stamp was £15,000, and the legacy duty paid exceeded £10,000. The will, after entailing on the title, Drayton Park and some other large estates in Warwickshire and Staffordshire, proceeds to enumerate certain dispositions of property amounting to upwards of £240,000 previously advanced by way of gifts, or settled on his children; this was exclusive of £9,000 per annum secured to his eldest son. It then proceeds to apportion £600,000 more amongst his eight surviving younger children; making the sum left to each of his five sons, excluding the present Baronet, £106,000, and to each of his three daughters £53,000. The legacies to old servants, and memorials to friends are numerous and liberal, and his bequests to public institutions, such as shew a mind open to charity and alive to the necessities of his fellow creatures. The will bears date the 27th July, 1820. There is a codicil added to it under date the 11th of February, 1825; by which the portions of his younger sons are increased to £135,000 each, and of the residue, calculated at five hundred thousand pounds,

four-ninths were given to his eldest son, the present Right Honorable Bart., and one-ninth to each of the younger ones.

Having thus traced the family of the Peels, from its origin to the death of its founder, so far at least as regards its importance, both in a manufacturing and political point of view, we now proceed to direct the attention of our readers to the progress of the present Right Hon. Baronet, a progress which has led to his being placed at the head of the councils of his Sovereign; and has for the present vested in his hands, and under his controul the destinies of this mighty empire.

In pursuance of the track which is thus marked out for us, we may observe that the compilation of memoirs, which according to the modern acceptation of that term, seems to mean speculating upon living characters, and the art of displaying their mental forms in a literary mirror, is of all literary attempts the most difficult to perform successfully. That difficulty, however, in the instance before us, greatly recedes, indeed it nearly vanishes, as we shall only consider Sir Robert Peel in that point of view in which he has become so conspicuous; we mean as a statesman.

To help us to an emblem on this occasion, we may take the reverse of the Roman medal, whereon is sculptured the figure of a young man represented to be of the equestrian order, who, surmounting every impediment, impels his fiery coursers upwards through the clouds; thus presenting a representation of the force and impetuosity of genius applicable to our present purpose, which is briefly to contemplate the rise and progress of talent to equestrian rank and senatorial celebrity; and their accompanying reward, fame, fortune, and a deathless name, preserved in the pages of his country's history.

Reflecting on the mild, elegant, and scientific system of education, established by the Athenians, as opposed to that rigorous, unpolished, and, indeed, terrific code of despotism under which the youth of Sparta groaned, it appears that the first was a course of pleasure leading to the temple of knowledge and fame; while the latter was the infliction of punishment, impelling its victims to the caverns of ignorance and brutality. The Athenian mode of educating young people was nearly the same as that which is now practised at all the great public schools in this kingdom: namely, a combination

of polite learning, arts, and sciences, together with the study of eloquence, philosophy, and the mathematics: a system admirably adapted to form the peers and the representatives of the people in a mixed government like ours, and of which, it has been seen, the individual who is the subject of this brief sketch has amply availed himself.

Talents, as we have already observed, are in this country, the road to distinction—a road that has been travelled with success by so many eminent men in our own and former ages, that their names, were we to enumerate them, would more than fill our brief space. Waving, therefore, as their characters are public, their nominal enumeration, we shall refer our readers to the page of history, there to seek the registration of their brilliant career; and confine ourselves to more modern times, calling particular attention to two individuals only of recent date, whose career will bear a comparison with that of the subject of this memoir. We allude to Mr. Addison and Mr. Canning, between whom, and Sir Robert Peel, as public men, a tolerably correct parallel may be drawn —as, for example, all three were educated at

public schools; each at an early age attained considerable rank and station in the councils of their sovereign, and the executive government of the country. Mr. Addison early attained the high and important appointment of one of the Chief Secretaries of State; and the two latter, at a still earlier period of their political career, were, by the voice of the country and the favour of their sovereign, called on to preside at the helm of government. It is unnecessary to pursue the comparison further, having already established the position which we have been endeavouring to enforce—namely, that, although, in this country, we sometimes see merit neglected, yet we much more frequently have occasion to observe it luxuriating in an ample reward.

Sir Robert Peel, the present Right Hon. Bart. was born at Bury, in Lancashire, on the 5th of February, 1788. On attaining the proper age he was placed at Harrow School, where he was the contemporary of Lord Byron, between whom and himself an early friendship and attachment commenced and was continued through the brief existence of that distinguished and highly talented nobleman. From Harrow, young

Peel was in due course transferred to Christchurch, College, Oxford, where he soon distinguished himself by obtaining what is termed a double first class degree, denoting the highest proficiency at once in classical and mathematical studies. On attaining the age of twenty one years, he was, at the general election which took place in the autumn of 1809, introduced into Parliament as representative for the city of Cashel, in Ireland. At this time it was not anticipated that the embryo statesman would so soon be called on to take a prominent part in the public and domestic affairs and political and civil government of that important portion of the British Empire.

Parliament met on the 23rd of January in this year, 1810, and the session was opened by commission. The British ministry had previously become so unpopular, and the personal altercations between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning were now so frequent and so bitter, that the public mind was fully prepared for a change of persons, if not of measures. These anticipations were realized. The Noble Lord and the Right Hon. Gentleman resigned their Secretaryships, and Mr. Perceval, who on the

retirement of the Duke of Portland had become First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, eagerly endeavoured to avail himself of the opportunity thus afforded him, of thinning and weakening the ranks of the opposition, and consolidating his own power by an amalgamation with the Earl Grey and Lord Grenville, men of great wealth, brilliant talent, and possessing in a more than ordinary degree the powers of eloquence and a fitness for business. These noblemen had been considered by their adherents as the leaders of the Whig party, from the time of Mr. Fox's decease. This attempt on the part of the Minister was not however successful, and failing to prevail on the noblemen we have named to join his Cabinet, he turned towards the Marquis of Wellesley, then just returned from Spain, who was appointed Secretary for Foreign Affairs; the Earl of Liverpool took the department for War and the Colonies; and Mr. Richard Rider was named Secretary of State for the Home Department. At the opening of the Parliament, therefore, the Administration stood as follows:—

IN THE CABINET.

Earl Camden, ...	President of the Council.
Lord Eldon, ...	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl Westmoreland, . . .	Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Bathurst, ...	President of the Board of trade.
The Rt. Hon. Spencer Perceval,	First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Prime Minister.
Rt. Hon. Charles P. Yorke, .	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Lord Mulgrave, ...	Master Genl. of the Ordinance.
Rt. Hon. Rd. Rider, . . .	Sec. for the Home Department.
Marquis Wellesley, . . .	Secretary for Foreign Affairs.
Earl of Liverpool, ...	Sec. for War and Colonies.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Rt. Hon. Robert Dundas, .	President of the Board of Controul.
Rt. Hon. George Rose, . .	President of the Board of Trade.
Lord Viscount Palmerston, .	Secretary at War.
Lord Charles Somerset, Rt. Hon. Charles Long,	Joint Paymaster of the Forces.
Earl Chichester, Earl Sandwich, ...	Joint Post-Master General.
Richard Wharton, Esq. Charles Arbuthnot, Esq.	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Sir William Grant, . . .	Master of the Rolls.
Sir Vicary Gibbs, ...	Attorney General.
Sir Thomas Plomer, . . .	Solicitor General.

IRELAND.

The Duke of Richmond, . .	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Manners, ...	Lord High Chancellor.
W. Wellesley Pole, ...	Chief Secretary.
Rt. Hon. John Foster, . .	Chancellor of the Exchequer.

It was under the auspices of the administration which we have here noted, that Mr. Peel commenced his parliamentary career, having been selected by Mr. Perceval to second the address moved by Lord Barnard, in the House of Commons, in answer to the speech from the throne. In general, the moving and seconding an address in reply to a royal speech, at the commencement of a session, is but a matter of course affair. The task is assigned to some young scion from a noble stem, or influential commoner, who comes down to the House dressed for the occasion, goes through the duty of repeating the task assigned to him with more or less credit to himself in proportion to the industry with which he has studied, and the fidelity or faithlessness with which his memory may chance to serve him; the House listens to him, or at least preserves the semblance of attention to the speaker, from courtesy; but the speech ended, and the few cheers bestowed

upon it by the particular friends and connexions of the young senator having died away, the speaker and the speech are alike forgotten or absorbed in the interest excited by the pointed remarks or personal allusions of some more experienced or influential member of the House, spurred on and animated to the wordy combat by the apprehension of losing, or the hope of gaining a place by the result of the evening's discussion.

Such is, in general, the speech of the mover or seconder of an address in reply to a royal speech, and such the fate it meets with. The display of talent to which we are now alluding was, however, if we may venture an opinion on the testimony of those who heard it, of a different description. The arguments used by the young candidate for legislative honors were such as presented a powerful claim to the attention of the House; and the animation with which this maiden effort of the youthful representative for Cashel was urged upon his hearers, elicited from the House repeated marks of its approbation. On that portion of the speech which adverted to the suspension of our friendly intercourse with the United States, and expressed a hope that such friendly inter-

course would shortly be resumed, Mr. Peel observed "that it might be indecorous in him to advert to the affairs of America, in their then state; nor would he, after the observations contained in his Majesty's speech, enter into any enquiry as to the conduct of his Majesty's ministers; but of the effects which a war with America was likely to produce on the commerce of this country we might be able to form some judgment, from former experience. During the embargo, the amount of exports to, and imports from the United States was unquestionably decreased; but this loss was amply counterbalanced by the direct trade carried on by our merchants to Spain and her dependencies. England desired neither peace nor war; but she would suffer no indignity, and make no unbecoming concessions. With every engine of power and perfidy directed against us, the situation of this country had proved to Buonaparte that it was invulnerable in the very point to which all his efforts were directed. The accounts of the exports of British manufactures would be found to exceed by many millions those of any former period. And with regard to our internal condition; while France had been stript of the flower of her youth,

England had continued to flourish. The only alteration had been the substitution of machinery for manual labour. "The address," he said, "contained nothing that could prevent its unanimous adoption. It called for no pledge to approve of what had passed, and imposed no impediment in the way of enquiry. The aggression, usurpation, and tyranny of Bounaparte, was a point on which all parties agreed. But to resist him effectually, they must be unanimous. Every heart and hand must be joined to give strength to the common cause."

The indications of ability which Mr. Peel exhibited on this and some other occasions during the session attracted the attention of the minister, Mr. Perceval, and the result was that before its conclusion he was appointed Under Secretary of State for the Colonial Department; the seals of that department being at the time held by the Earl of Liverpool. And thus, when scarcely of an age which qualified him to sit and vote in the legislature, he became a member of the administration of the day, and had the active duties of a very important branch of the government cast upon him.

But though thus immersed in politics we

find the young Secretary devoting a portion of his time to a participation in one of those splendid spectacles occasionally exhibited at our universities;—we allude to the ceremony attendant on the installation of a Chancellor. On the 3rd of July in this year that distinguished honor was conferred on Lord Grenville, at Oxford. The following, which is the account of the ceremony on this occasion, as given in the public journals of the day, may not prove uninteresting—

"Oxford, July the 3rd. The Right Hon. Lord Grenville arrived yesterday, and took up his residence with the Rev. Dr. Parsons. This morning, at half past ten, the Chancellor, Vice Chancellor, Noblemen, heads of houses, doctors and proctors, proceeded in grand procession from Baliol College to the Theatre, where the business of the day was opened by the Chancellor, and the following distinguished characters had the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Laws conferred on them, viz: The Duke of Somerset, The Marquisses Buckingham, Downshire, and Ely; The Earls of Essex, Abingdon, Jersey, Fortescue, Carysfort, and Temple; Lord-Viscounts Bulkeley and Carleton; Lords Braybrook, Cawdor, and Carrington; The Rt.

Hon. Wm. Wickham, Geo. Tierney, W. Elliot, Sir John Newport, Bt., and Sir John Anstruther, Bt.; and Mr. Fagell of the United Provinces.

"Lord Grenville walked in procession in the full *costume* of the Chancellor, (a gown richly embroidered with gold, a velvet cap, with tassels, &c.) along with the heads of Colleges, principals, professors, doctors, &c. Many young noblemen and commoners belonging to the university, also formed a part of the splendid train, in their purple robes trimmed with gold. The heads of houses, &c. completed the show. The whole being seated in a semi-circle, to which, from the variety and gorgeous richness of the *costume*, they gave a most splendid appearance.

"The annual speech, in commemoration of the benefactors of the university, in latin, was delivered by the public Orator, Mr. Crowe, of New College. The prize compositions were then recited by the gentlemen to whom they had been previously adjudged. The Installation Ode, composed by the Rev. Mr. Copleston, Professor of Poetry to the University, and set to music by Doctor Crotch, was next performed and was well received. The Theatre was crow-

ded with a brilliant assemblage of nobility and gentry. It is supposed that there were between three and four thousand persons present in the room. Sir Sidney Smith was amongst the illustrious visitors.

" In the evening a grand miscellaneous concert was performed at the Theatre, under the direction of Doctor Crotch; in which Madame Catalani, Mrs. Bianchi, Mrs. Ashe, Messrs. Braham, Bartleman, Vaughan, Bellamy, &c. performed. Madame Catalani's song '*Ah ti nuova,*' was rapturously encored; as were Mr. Braham's ' Last words of Marmion,' and Mr. Bartleman's ' O Lord, have mercy.' ' God save the King' was called for at the conclusion of the concert, in which Madame Catalani sung the first verse, to the delight and admiration of the whole company. The Theatre was as much crowded as in the morning.

" The nobility and gentry dined with the Vice Chancellor, at Baliol College, where an elegant dinner was served up, consisting of every delicacy the season produced."

Towards the conclusion of the year 1810, the malady under which his Majesty George III. had then for some time laboured, assumed a still more serious character; and all hopes of

his speedy recovery, so far, at least, as to enable him to resume the exercise of the functions of royalty, as required by the constitution, were, though very reluctantly, abandoned by the administration; and after repeated short adjournments of the House, Mr. Perceval, on the 17th of December, brought down and laid on the table of the House the report of the select committee, which contained the opinions of the physicians on the subject. The right honorable gentleman moved "that on the following Thursday the House should resolve itself into a committee to take into consideration the state of the nation. His intention," he said "then was, to submit to the committee three preliminary resolutions, similar to those which were adopted in 1788: the first relating to his Majesty's incompetency to discharge the royal functions; the second declaring the obligation imposed on the two Houses of Parliament to supply the deficiency in the executive authority; and the third, regarding the manner in which the substitute for the royal authority was to be provided by way of bill. On these points it was indispensably necessary that each House should know the opinion of the other before either could submit to the other the

precise method which might be deemed most expedient to meet the exigency of the occasion."

To this proposition of the right honorable gentleman, Mr. Ponsonby declared his decided hostility; and, in this opinion, Mr. Sheridan cordially concurred. The latter right honorable gentleman referred to the course adopted by the Irish parliament, in 1788, and strongly contended that a similar course should now be taken—namely, that they should "vote an address to the Prince of Wales, requesting his Royal Highness would be pleased to take upon himself the government of the realm; and expressing the confidence of both Houses of Parliament that the Prince would consent to exercise and administer, according to the laws and constitution of the kingdom, all regal powers, jurisdictions, prerogatives to the Crown, and government thereof belonging. This course was adopted by Ireland, and the same proceeding was taken by Parliament at the Revolution, when both Houses addressed the Prince of Orange, requesting that he would take on himself the government, for the preservation of the religious rights, laws, and liberties of the subject. That mode of proceeding which had

been adopted by the best patriots, in order to maintain the rights and privileges of the people, might surely be again resorted to, in order to maintain the rights and privileges of the sovereign. By pursuing such a course, no unmerited stigma would be cast on the Prince of Wales, and the principles of the constitution would be preserved pure and inviolate." Mr. Adam adopted a similar line of argument; he contended that "address was the true and constitutional course of proceeding; that all limitations of the prerogative were unconstitutional; that the prerogatives of the Crown were entrusted for the benefit of the people; and that they could not, in the person of a regent, any more than in the person of a king, be abridged, impaired, or limited, in one single point, without a violation of that most sacred principle" Such were the arguments generally used against the course which the Ministers were desirous of adopting for the purpose of shackling the royal prerogatives in the hands of a regent.

On the day appointed, December 20th, the House of Commons resolved itself into a committee, and Mr. Perceval submitted to its consideration the three resolutions of which he had

given notice. The first resolution stated, that his Majesty being prevented by his indisposition from attending to the public business, the personal exercise of the royal authority was thereby suspended. The second, that it was the right and duty of the Lords temporal and spiritual, and Commons of the United Kingdom now assembled, and lawfully, and fully, and freely, representing all the estates of the people of this realm, to provide the means of supplying the defect in the personal exercise of the royal authority, arising from his Majesty's said indisposition, in such manner as the exigencies of the case might appear to them to require. The third, that for this purpose, and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the King, it was necessary that the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of the United Kingdom, should determine on the means by which the royal assent might be given in parliament, to such bill as might be passed by the two Houses of Parliament; respecting the exercise of the powers, and authorities of the crown, in the name, and on the behalf of the King, during the continuance of his Majesty's present indisposition. Mr. Perceval then stated what were the ulterior

propositions which he meant to bring forward; they were, that the Prince of Wales should be appointed Regent; to administer the affairs of the country, in the name of, and on behalf of his Majesty, during the continuance of the King's indisposition; that the entire care of the King's person should be intrusted to the Queen; and that due provision and precaution should be introduced into the bill, for notifying the King's recovery, whenever that event should take place; and for pointing out the course which would effectually enable his Majesty to resume his royal functions with his former dignity and authority. The bill, which he meant to propose, would contain certain provisions, limiting and restricting for a time, the use of some of the powers and prerogatives of the crown; and as the opinion of the physicians was, that six weeks, or two months was the earliest period at which his Majesty's recovery could be anticipated, that six months was the average time, but that it might occur even at twelve months, he should propose that the restrictions should extend to that period; and at the end of that period should his Majesty's unfortunate malady still continue, then the restrictions to expire.

Upon these propositions of Mr. Perceval, several long and animated debates took place; in the course of which Mr. Peel gave his support to the Minister, and his plan of a restricted regency. Mr. Canning, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Stephens, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Addington, and Mr. Yorke, also voted in favor of the motion. Whilst Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Ponsonby, Sir F. Burdett, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Horner, the Hon. Mr. Lamb, Sir John Newport, and Lord Porchester, were in favor of the proposition for presenting an address to the Prince of Wales, requesting his Royal Highness to take on himself the Regency; without any restriction whatever on the exercise of the royal authority.

After several long and very acrimonious discussions, the resolutions proposed by Mr. Perceval were adopted by a majority of two hundred and sixty nine to one hundred and fifty seven. Similar resolutions were agreed to by the Lords, and a deputation, consisting of the leading members of both Houses was appointed to wait on his Royal Highness, and acquaint him with the course which the two Houses had adopted.

The Prince received the deputation most

graciously, but his reply manifested, though in a dignified manner, his displeasure at the course which had been pursued. Addressing the deputation, His Royal Highness said, "My Lords and Gentlemen:—I receive the communication which the two Houses have directed you to make to me, of their joint resolutions on the subject of providing for 'the exercise of the Royal authority during his Majesty's illness,' with those sentiments of regard which I must ever entertain for the united desires of the two Houses of Parliament. With the same sentiments I receive the expressed hopes of the Lords and Commons, that from my regard for the interests of his Majesty and the nation, I should be ready to undertake the weighty and important trust, proposed to be invested in me, under the restrictions and limitations stated in those resolutions.

"Conscious that every feeling of my heart would have prompted me, from dutiful affection to my beloved father and sovereign, to have shown all the reverential delicacy towards him inculcated in those resolutions, I cannot refrain from expressing my regret, that I should not have been allowed the opportunity of manifest-

ing to his afflicted and loyal subjects that such would have been my conduct.

"Deeply impressed, however, with the necessity of tranquillizing the public mind, and determined to submit to every personal sacrifice, consistent with the regard I owe to the security of my father's crown, and the equal regard I owe to the welfare of his people, I do not hesitate to accept the office and the situation proposed to me, restricted as they are; still retaining every opinion expressed by me on a former and similar distressing occasion. In undertaking the trust proposed to me, I am well aware of the difficulties of the situation in which I shall be placed; but I shall rely with confidence on the constitutional advice of an enlightened Parliament, and the zealous support of a generous and loyal people. I will use all the means left to me to merit both.

"My Lords and Gentlemen:—You will communicate this my answer to the two Houses, accompanied by my most fervent wishes and prayers, that the Divine will may extricate us and the nation from the grievous embarrassments of our present condition, by the speedy restoration of his Majesty's health."

Such was the reply of His Royal Highness to the address of the two Houses; to whom it was communicated by Lord Liverpool and Mr. Perceval; by the former to the Lords, and by the latter to the Commons. On the 11th of January, Lord Liverpool moved a resolution for putting the great seal to a commission for opening the parliament. Earl Grey, who had been absent during the previous proceedings, protested against them on behalf of those with whom he acted; in strong language, accusing ministers of flagrant usurpation, and of a gross violation of the constitution. The resolution passed, however, on a division, by a majority of 51 to 33. A similar resolution passed in the Commons, and on the 15th of January, the Session was opened by this Commission, under the Regency.

The ceremony of installing the Prince Regent, was performed on the following day, Wednesday, the 6th of February. About twelve o'clock a party of the flank companies of the grenadiers marched into the court-yard of Carlton House, where their colours were pitched in the centre of the grand entrance. The Privy Councillors assembled in the Gold-room, and, the levee being over, moved in procession, with

the Prince, to the Grand Saloon; a room hung with scarlet drapery, and having, as the fittest ornaments of an English palace, the portraits of those Admirals by whose splendid achievements Great Britain has acquired the dominion of the seas. The great Chamberlain of England, and the Vice Chamberlain to the King, led the way with their wands of office. The Master of the Horse, the Lord Steward, the Treasurer and the Lord Comptroller of the Household, and the Gold and Silver Sticks came next; his Royal Highness's attendants next; and then the Prince, followed by the Royal Dukes, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President of the Council; and lastly, the other Ministers and Privy Councillors.

A long table, covered with crimson velvet, stood in the saloon; the oaths which were to be subscribed by the Regent were laid on it, written on vellum, and massive silver ink-stands were placed by them, which had been made for Queen Anne. The Prince took his seat at the head of the table, having the Lord President on his right hand, and the Lord Chancellor on his left; the other Privy Councillors being seated, the Lord President stated the indisposition of the King, and the fact of his Majesty's

incapacity for business, and briefly recapitulated the proceedings which had taken place in parliament for the establishment of a regency, and read the oaths which the Prince was required by the act to take, to enable him to fill that office.

The Prince then said, "My Lords," (the Privy Councillors when assembled being addressed by that title,) "I understand, that by the act passed by the Parliament, appointing me Regent of the United Kingdom, in the name, and on the behalf of his Majesty, I am required to take certain oaths, and to make a declaration before your lordships, as prescribed by the said act. I am now ready to take these oaths, and to make the declaration prescribed."

The Lord Privy Seal then rose and read the oaths, which the Prince, with an audible voice, pronounced after him in these words:—

"I do hereby promise and swear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his Majesty King George. So help me God.

"I do solemnly promise and swear, that I will truly and faithfully execute the office of Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, according to an act of Parlia-

ment passed in the fifty first year of the reign of his Majesty King George the Third: and that I will administer, according to law, the power and authority vested in me by the said act; and that I will in all things, to the utmost of my power and ability, consult and maintain the safety, honor, and dignity, of his Majesty, and the welfare of his people. So help me God."

The Prince then subscribed the oaths. The Lord President presented to him the declaration prescribed in the act, for the more effectually preserving the King's person and government, by disqualifying papists from sitting in either House of Parliament. This document his Royal Highness also subscribed, after having audibly repeated its contents. The Privy Councillors then signed these instruments, as witnessed by them, and they were then delivered to the keeper of the records. The Prince then delivered to the President of the Council a certificate of his having received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; this also was countersigned by the Privy Councillors present, and deposited by the keeper of the records in a box at the bottom of the table, together with all the other documents connected

with this important ceremony, which terminated by all present having the honor of kissing hands.

In the course of the long protracted and interesting discussions which took place on this important subject, Mr. Peel, as has been already observed, gave his support to the Minister, and in doing so, as well as in addressing the House occasionally on other topics connected more immediately with the Colonial Office, the department of the government to which he was more especially attached, he displayed so much talent, and such an aptitude for business, that even before the first session of his parliamentary career had passed over, he had assumed a prominent position in the government of the day.

In submitting this memoir to the public, it is not the province, nor is it the intention of the writer, to enter minutely into a history of the country during the eventful period over which it extends. It is, however, necessary in detailing the progress of an individual, who has sustained a principal character in the political drama of the last quarter of a century, that we should touch more or less lightly on those public measures, and passing events, which, as

they occur, may lend either to accelerate or retard his advance in the scale of political importance, or to raise, or depress him in the estimation of the public, according to the part which he may have taken in those measures.

The history of the career of a public man must therefore necessarily be, to a certain extent, a history of his country during the period of that career; and in the present instance will shew the course of events which gradually progressed to, and ultimately placed Sir Robert Peel in the elevated position which he has since occupied in the councils of his sovereign and the government of the country.

The hopes of the opposition were raised to the highest pitch during the progress of the Regency bill, and their partizans scarcely even attempted to conceal their joy at an event, which as they fully expected, was to secure to them power and place. The disposition of the Prince, it was well known was favorable to those hopes; he had a personal regard for some of the leaders of their party, and it was believed that many of his political opinions were imbibed from Mr. Fox; though to what extent he might be disposed to act on those opinions, was as yet necessarily unknown. It was therefore

extremely probable a change of Ministry would take place: and all the opponents of government, (however greatly they differed among themselves as to their ultimate objects, from the regular opposition, under Lords Grey and Grenville, down to the very dregs of the Burdettite faction,) vied with each other in exulting over a fallen enemy; and in hailing, what, according to their representations, might be considered as the advent of political redemption. Wherever the agitators were sufficiently numerous, they drew up petitions against the restrictions; the livery of London led the way, and the absurd charge of usurpation, against Mr. Perceval and his colleagues, was re-echoed by the city orators with their characteristic intemperance. "The Ministers," they said, "were the true Jacobins. The Ministers were verifying all that Paine had written, by striving to show how long the government could be carried on without the executive; whilst they who opposed the restrictions, and who had been accused of wishing to overthrow the throne, were as anxious to support the just prerogatives of the crown, as they had ever been to support the rights of the people."

When the time for the regency drew near,

Mr. Perceval waited on the King, at Windsor, and found him well enough to converse upon public affairs, though not sufficiently recovered to bear the weight of business. His Majesty enquired anxiously concerning the Prince's conduct, and expressed great joy at learning the course which his Royal Highness had adopted. He desired that the Queen would write to the Prince, to signify his approbation of his conduct, and to request that he might not be harrassed on his return to society by having to change an ephemeral administration, and pointing out to him the great inconvenience and interruption which would arise to public business, from changing a ministry for so short a time. The Prince, it is said, was well pleased to be thus relieved from the difficulties in which he found himself involved by jarring opinions and contending claims. He made known his determination of making no change to his early friends, immediately after receiving this communication of the King's sentiments; and on the day before the Regency Bill passed, he officially acquainted Mr. Perceval that it was his intention not to remove from their stations any of those persons whom he found there as his Majesty's official servants. "At

the same time," he observed, "the Prince owes it to the truth and sincerity of character, which, he trusts, will appear in every action of his life, explicitly to declare that the impulse of filial duty and affection to his beloved and afflicted father, leads him to dread that any act of the Regent might, in the smallest degree, have the effect of interfering with the progress of his Sovereign's recovery. This consideration alone dictates the decision now communicated to Mr. Perceval." A few days after the installation of the Regent, namely, on the 12th of February, the session was regularly opened by commission.

Soon after the installation of the Regent, a rumour was circulated of the contemplated restoration of the Duke of York to the situation of Commander-in-Chief. The Regent, it was known, was exceedingly desirous of this object being carried into effect, and those Ministers who had so zealously defended his Royal Highness, could not, with consistency, oppose it. Indeed they were the more ready to assent to the Regent's wishes, in as much as they calculated upon the fickleness of popular opinion, as well as upon the change which had

been produced in the public mind, by the utter disrepute into which the individuals upon whose testimony, and through whose means the Duke's removal from office had been brought about, had, by their subsequent conduct, brought themselves. The Ministers were not disappointed in the result; the pulse of the public beat as they desired and had anticipated. The greater portion of the public press expressed their satisfaction at, and approval of, a measure, which they designated, "an act of justice;" others noticed the circumstance by the usual form of announcement; and but one or two amongst the Duke's most violent opponents had sufficient consistency to protest against it.

The appointment was announced in the Gazette, and passed over without exciting any more attention than any other registration of office conferred and registered on the same day in that official organ. His Royal Highness's re-appointment was, certainly, on some points, objectionable; but he was a favorite with the soldiers of all grades, for the interest which he took in their comforts; and with the people generally, for his courtesy and urbanity of

manners: and his restoration to the situation of Commander-in-Chief was decidedly a popular measure.

In parliament, however, the subject was not allowed to pass without comment. Lord Milton, on the 6th of June, moved, in the House of Commons, a resolution to the effect "That it had been highly improper and indecorous in the advisers of the Regent to recommend this reappointment." A discussion followed, in which Lord Althorpe, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Wynn, Mr. Ponsonby, and Colonel Wardle, supported the resolution; and Mr. Perceval, Mr. Bathurst, Sir Oswald Mosely, Mr. Gooch, Mr. Ryder and Mr. Manners Sutton opposed it. The opinion of the House generally on the subject was declared, on a division, by 47 in favour of Lord Milton's resolution, and 296 in favour of His Royal Highness's re-appointment.

At this period the State of Ireland became a subject of very serious consideration with the government, the proceedings on the question of Catholic emancipation, in that country, having attracted much attention on this side the Channel. The accession of the Prince Regent to power, had been welcomed with triumphant, we may say with indecent, joy by the more

intemperate portion of the Irish Catholics. During the administration of the Talents, the then Lord Lieutenant and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Ponsonby, had pledged the Prince to grant the Catholics their demands whenever he should succeed to power. The consequences of this injudicious conduct on the part of the government of that day, now began to be seriously felt. The Catholics, without waiting for the natural demise of the King, and setting aside all consideration of the chance of his recovery—a chance which at this period appeared probable to all, except those who wished it should never be realised—thought the pledge which had been so unconstitutionally and injudiciously given, would now be redeemed; and that their demands would be granted if they brought them forward with due force and energy. Acting on that persuasion, some of the most honorable and moderate men of the Catholic party came forward on this occasion, actuated by the hope which seemed to present itself of promoting the interests of their religion, and hurried on by the zeal of the young, the violence of the hot-headed, and the arts of the disaffected. Delegates were appointed from

the several counties, and they met together as a representative body in Dublin, calling itself the Catholic Committee, whose proceedings were not more temperate than those which characterised the Scottish convention of 1793; and, as was the case at that period, those proceedings were regularly published by a certain portion of the press devoted to their views of religious policy. To check them in their inflammatory course, the Irish Government addressed a circular letter to the sheriffs and magistrates of counties, declaring their intention of putting in force the Convention Bill, the act passed to meet the proceedings in the northern portion of the Empire in 1793.

This declaration of the Irish Government gave rise to a violent outcry on the part of the opposition, by whom it was reprobated in the strongest terms. Under this feeling, Lord Lansdowne, on the 22nd of February, moved for papers upon the subject of Ireland; and in the course of the speech with which he prefaced his motion, accused the Lord Lieutenant (the Duke of Richmond) and Mr. W. W. Pole (the Chief Secretary for Ireland) of the most inconsiderate violence and severity, asserting that they had acted rashly in issuing such a

circular, which he charged them with having done hastily, and without having given themselves time to consult with the English Government, or even to take the pleasure of the Prince Regent, of whose feelings and opinion upon the subject there could not be much doubt; and whose disposition towards the Irish Catholics could not well be called in question. The motion was negatived in the Lords without a division.

In the Commons a similar motion was brought forward by the Honorable Mr. Ward, who, in introducing it, also asserted that Ministers had not the sanction of the Prince Regent in this proceeding. These assertions led to an extended debate, embracing a discussion on the state of Ireland generally, in which Mr. Peel took a part, defending with much ability the course adopted by the Irish Government, in issuing the circular in question. In reply to Mr. Peel's arguments, Mr. Whitbread observed that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had, at his entrance into office, given a bond, sealed with his honour, that he never would concede the Catholic claims. "To whom" said Mr. Perceval, "did I give such a bond? Never, to any one. I most

distinctly deny it. I have, indeed, by the expression of my sentiments in this House, opposed the Catholic claims; and when I look to the present state of the Catholics, I cannot anticipate any change in my opinions. If the Honorable gentleman chooses to call this declaration a bond, I am satisfied with that explanation; but if he says I ever gave any other bond to any living person, I must flatly contradict it." [Mr. Whitbread replied.] "The Right Honorable gentleman desires an explanation from me, and he shall have it. When I said he gave a bond not to concede the Catholic claims, I referred to the manner in which he came into power. The former Ministry went out of power because they would not give such a bond; the Right Honorable gentleman came in, and of course it was to be inferred that he had entered into that stipulation, for refusing to enter into which his predecessor had gone out." Mr. Perceval rejoined, "I gave no such pledge on my taking office; but those who left the Government were pledged to the contrary, and it was natural to expect that those who had always opposed the Catholic claims in Parliament, would do so in power. So far I gave a pledge and no further."

The motion was ultimately rejected on a division, by 80 to 43. The subject was again brought forward on a subsequent night, and after a full explanation from Mr. W. Pole, again negatived by a majority of 133 to 48. This silenced the opposition as regarded Ireland for the remainder of the session.

At the usual period the Session was closed, with a speech from the Regent, delivered by commission; and on the 7th of January, 1812, the Houses again met, when the Session was opened by commission, His Royal Highness being prevented going down to deliver the speech in person by indisposition. The early part of the Session was occupied in discussions on the Regent's speech; the state of the King's health; the formation of his Majesty's household establishment at Windsor; the application of the droits of admiralty, and the proposition for making a more liberal provision for the Princesses, to which subject the attention of Parliament had been directed by a message from the Prince Regent. It was in the debates which arose upon this latter subject, that the existing differences between the Prince and the Princess of Wales were first mentioned in Parliament; on this occasion Mr. Whitbread

observed, "I have heard that the Queen is about to hold a drawing-room, of course no hopes can now exist of his Majesty's recovery; because, if there were any, such a step, I presume, would not be resorted to; but in case that drawing-room is held, I would wish to know is there to be any public appearance of the Princess of Wales? This is no private concern; the public have a right to demand why the acknowledged consort of their Regent does not appear in public as such. No affectation of delicacy can be permitted to stand in the way of a nation's anxiety upon a question of such national importance. If any man can satisfy the public upon this topic, it is the Right Hon. Gentleman, Mr. Perceval. They know him to have been at one time, the zealous adviser, and devoted adherent of the Princess of Wales. They believe him to have conscientiously undertaken her Royal Highness's defence—to have written her vindication—to have published it. The vindication is said to have involved in it an attack upon her Royal Consort. It is known to have been an attack upon his Royal Highness; and the Regent's first Minister is known to have been the author of it; and after he had published it, after it

had been read by one, and one hundred, it was bought up at an enormous expence; bought up by the private secretary of the Right Hon. Gentleman. I ask him now, does he retain his former opinion of the unexceptionable conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales? I ask him, if he did not lately, in this House, solemnly record his confirmation of that opinion; and if it is now, what it was the other night, I call on him to explain, if he can, his apparent desertion of her just claims to that respect, notice, and just consideration, and provision which is her due? These are questions, which, as he values his own consistency, as he values the character and claims of the Princess, and as he respects the Prince his master, he is bound to answer."

The House of Commons did not respond to Mr. Whitbread on this occasion, or to this mode of proceeding. Men of all parties saw at once, that the condition of the Princess of Wales had no immediate connection with the provisions to be made for the Princesses; for they knew that less than two months before, (whilst the Regent had not yet declared himself in favor of his Minister,) although the legislature was then making ample provision for his

Royal Highness, not a single murmur respecting the state of the Princess was heard. The Bill for making provision for the Princesses, which had been framed by the Minister, passed through its different stages, and received the sanction of the Legislature.

The subjects of debate which followed, and occupied the attention of the legislature, during the first three months of the session, were the discussions on the state of the currency, in which Mr. Peel took a part, and which terminated in the introduction, by Mr. Perceval, of a bill to continue the act passed in 1811, founded on the recommendation of the Bullion Committe, making Bank of England notes a legal tender in Great Britain, and extending the provisions of the act to Ireland; Sir W. Scott's motion on the constitution of the Ecclesiastical Courts; a motion of Lord Holland's on *ex-officio* informations; debates on Military Punishments; and on Mr. Brand's motion for Parliamentary Reform. Long and animated debates also took place on the returns made under the Population Act, upon the Barrack Estimates, on the subject of Sinecure Places, and on the Finance Resolutions; but the attention of the public was to a certain degree diverted from

the consideration of these subjects, important as they were, by the perpetration of some of the most barbarous and atrocious murders that ever marked the annals of crime in this, or any other civilized country. We allude to the horrid murders of the families of the Marrs and the Williamsons, which took place at Ratcliff, in the latter end of the year 1811. The malignity of a wretch named Williams, whose memory will hereafter be classed with those of the monsters who have most outraged human nature, had led to the extermination of two whole families of innocent and unoffending beings, with circumstances of unexampled cruelty. The metropolis was by this shocking transaction thrown into a ferment. Alarm and doubt pervaded every quarter of the town; each one dreaded lest himself, and all who were dear to him, might become the next victims of a malignity, which seemed to transcend all limits, and to set all calculation at defiance. It was assumed that such outrages could only be the result of a conspiracy, the extent, and nature of which were for the time unknown; and as no one could believe that a single blood thirsty monster could have required such a sacrifice of human life to satiate him, the existence of a formidable

and extensive combination was generally credited. In the alarm of the moment many causeless arrests took place, and many innocent persons were exposed to a painful and disgraceful scrutiny. The real criminal, however, was at last secured; yet, owing to a degree of negligence which must ever reflect discredit on those to whose care and keeping he was entrusted, he was suffered to elude by suicide the vengeance of the law*. Conjectures, formed in the moment of alarm and dismay, were contradicted to the surprise and relief of all; the ruffian, who had disappointed the justice of the country, was ascertained to have been the solitary actor in the atrocious scenes, and people seemed to have learned, for the first time, the extent which human ferocity was capable of reaching.

Some great fault it was generally asserted must attach to a system of police under which

* Williams had been committed to Cold Bath Fields, prison for re-examination; he was confined in a cell by himself, and thus injudiciously left for the night. When the turnkey locked his prisoner up, he did not observe that he exhibited any extraordinary depression of spirits, but, on opening the cell, on the following morning, he found the wretched man suspended from a rail, which ran across the cell, by his neckerchief, quite dead.

the inhabitants of the metropolis were exposed to such dangers and outrage; and, as the first suggestions of fear are always extravagant, many persons would have been willing, in this case, to have surrendered their liberties, with a view to securing protection to their persons. A cry was raised for the establishment of a preventitive armed police: fortunately the madness of such a proposal could not long escape the notice of the more reasonable and prudent portion of the community. A preventitive armed force can be nothing but a military force, and to subject the metropolis, and all the cities and large towns in the kingdom to the government and control of the soldiery would be, in fact, to surrender the liberties of the country. The absurdity of this plan, which was indeed the mere offspring of momentary alarm, soon became apparent, even to those who had originally proposed it, and the project of a military police was speedily abolished.

The defects, however, of many parts of the police establishment could not entirely escape observation. It was not till the year 1774 that Parliament at all interfered with the police of the metropolis, and the act then passed applied

only to fifteen of the most populous parishes. By this act trustees were appointed, under whose control the watch, the beadles and the patrol were placed; the subsequent immense increase of the capital had, however, gone far to destroy the efficacy of the act; and, furthermore, various abuses had crept into its administration, by which some of the most important provisions of the statute were evaded or disregarded. The act particularly provided that none but able-bodied men should be appointed to guard the streets at night, a provision which had long been notoriously set at nought by those whose duty it was to see the law carried into effect. It was the opinion of the government of the day, however, against, we believe, the declared opinion of Mr. Peel, even at that time, that the existing law might, with a few slight alterations, if properly enforced, be rendered quite sufficient for the preservation of the public peace; but before recommending any measure to Parliament, Ministers were desirous that due enquiry should be made into all the circumstances: accordingly, Mr. Ryder (then Secretary of State for the Home Department) moved for "the appointment of a committee to examine into the state of the nightly watch of

the metropolis and the parishes adjacent." The motion was agreed to, and a committee was appointed, from whose enquiries much useful information was derived, and a foundation laid for those improvements which, at a subsequent time, were introduced into our police establishment by Mr. Peel, when he held the important appointment of Home Secretary, as will be noticed in the proper place.

But although measures for putting down or restraining the commission of crime in the metropolis had been thus adopted, the government was soon made aware that the attention of the legislature was required for providing some effective remedy, for evils of as serious a character, and much more extensive in their mischievous results, which had exhibited themselves to a very alarming degree in some of the most populous of the manufacturing districts of the kingdom. The commercial difficulties to which the country was at this time exposed, the scarcity of work, and the high price of provisions, might, in the first instance have given rise to this unfortunate spirit of insubordination ; but there can be no doubt that when once raised, it was fostered and sustained by seditious publications, industriously dissemina-

ted amongst the people, and by the declamatory harangues of certain interested damagogues, who charged the government with causing the sufferings of the people, and who did not stop short of attempting to justify the atrocities into the commission of which some of their deluded hearers had been led, by the mischievous doctrines preached to them. The disposition to a system of combined and organized operations first manifested itself in the neighbourhood of the town of Nottingham, by the destruction of some newly invented stocking frames, by small parties of men, mostly stocking weavers, who had assembled from the surrounding villages. The rioters had been led to suppose that the introduction of machinery was the chief cause of their want of employment, and of the distress and deprivations which themselves and their families had suffered. Under this erroneous impression, they proceeded, with that ignorant fury which always characterises the operations of a mob, thus to destroy the very sources of public prosperity. At first their operations were confined to the immediate neighbourhood of Nottingham, but, by degrees, they became more numerous and more formidable; and having by some secret means obtained a supply of

arms, they extended their ravages over the whole space of country, situate between that town and Mansfield, destroying all the frames they met with in their progress, almost without meeting with any opposition. A new machine had been invented, by which the manufacturers had been enabled to avail themselves of the assistance of women, for work in which men had been employed before; this circumstance appeared greatly to irritate the rioters and led them to commit greater acts of outrage and disorder. It is probable that those persons first engaged in these riotous proceedings were men who had been actually thrown out of employment by the introduction of this improved machinery; and their operations were in the first instance confined to the destruction of frames, owned or worked by those who were willing to work at reduced prices. A vigorous resistance was, however, made to these outrages; an armed force, consisting at first of local militia and yeomanry was assembled, to which were added about four hundred special constables: the rioters were dispersed, and it was hoped that the disturbances were at an end; but this expectation proved fallacious; for, about the end of November, the outrages were

renewed in a more serious and systematic form; money was levied on the villages by the rioters, wherever they destroyed any frames; and as the number of insurgents increased, the outrages had, by the latter end of December, extended over the whole of Leicestershire and Derbyshire, in addition to Nottinghamshire. New measures for suppressing the disturbances were adopted, the armed force at Nottingham was increased, the commanding officer of the district was ordered to repair to that place, and two of the most experienced police magistrates were sent down from London to assist the local authorities.

But the execution of the law was found to be very difficult; the rioters had become well aware of the advantages of system in their operations, and their leaders were already so popular, that they had little to fear of being apprehended, and still less of conviction even if taken into custody. The spirit of insurrection and disorder continued to extend notwithstanding every precaution, which the existing law afforded to the magistracy, was taken to arrest its progress. Seven individuals had been apprehended and imprisoned at Nottingham on a charge of frame breaking, and a public sub-

scription was immediately set on foot for them at Stockport and other places; and anonymous letters were addressed to the magistrates, threatening farther devastations on machinery wherever used; illegal oaths, it was known, were administered; houses were attacked and plundered, by persons in disguise; and a general rising was threatened to take place in the month of May. Nocturnal meetings were held for the purpose of military exercise; arms were seized in various places by the disaffected; and contributions levied on the well disposed portion of the workmen. At Huddersfield, the proceedings of the rioters were marked with peculiar atrocity; and at Bolton-on-the-moors, a large manufactory was with great dexterity destroyed, notwithstanding every effort made for its protection by the inmates and the peaceable inhabitants of the neighbourhood. At Huddersfield, a constable was shot in his own house. Mr. Horsefall, a respectable merchant and mill owner, was returning from market on the afternoon of the 28th of April, when he was shot at, wounded, and died four days afterwards in consequence of his wounds; and although £2000 reward was offered for the apprehension of the murderers, and they were

well known, a considerable time elapsed before they were discovered. Mr. Cartwright, an extensive mill owner at Leversedge, was twice shot at, but providentially escaped, and several attempts were made to assassinate General Campbell, who commanded the troops at Leeds. The storehouse of arms for the local militia at Sheffield was surprised, and the arms deposited there were carried off. By these, and numerous similar acts of outrage, the inhabitants were intimidated; the watch and ward act could not be put in force; nocturnal robberies of arms and ammunition were common; and nightly meetings for the purpose of discipline became frequent. The secret oath was generally administered and strictly adhered to. As this oath was singular in its terms, it may not be uninteresting to give it here. It was as follows:—I—A. B. of my own voluntary will, do declare and solemnly swear, that I will never reveal to any person or persons, under the canopy of heaven, the names of the persons who compose this secret committee, their proceedings, meetings, places of abode, dress, features, connections, or any thing else that might lead to a discovery of the same, either by word or deed, or sign, under the penalty of

being sent out of the world by the first brother who shall meet me; and my name and character blotted out of existence, and never to be remembered but with contempt and abhorrence; and I further now do swear, that I will use my best endeavours to punish by death, any traitor, or traitors, should any rise up amongst us, wherever I can find him or them, and though he should fly to the verge of nature I will pursue him with unceasing vengeance. So help me God, and bless me to keep this my oath inviolable."

The military organization which was carried out was, however, the most striking feature in the constitution of these societies. The rioters assembled in large numbers, in general by night, on heights, or commons, which are numerous and extensive in the districts in which these disturbances existed; they took the usual military precautions of patroles and countersigns; muster rolls were called over by numbers not by names; the leaders were generally in disguise; sentinels were placed to give alarm in case of the approach of any person who might be suspected of a design to interrupt or give information of the proceedings; and on the firing of a gun, or other signal, the rioters

instantly dispersed in such a manner as to avoid detection. The money, which was in many instances obtained by contributions or plunder, served as a strong inducement to engage in the disturbances, while the horrid oath which was administered, the system of intimidation adopted, the destruction of houses and factories, the actual assassinations committed, and the daring attempts made in other cases, gave a character of ferocity to these proceedings, which had seldom been known in this country. Such was the daring and perseverance of these insurgents, that although a great military force had been assembled in many districts; although the Magistrates had zealously discharged their duty, even at the hazard of their lives, and the watch and ward act had in several places been put in force; every effort for a time proved unsuccessful in putting down the disturbances. Under such circumstances, the interference of the legislature was loudly called for; and whatever might have been the opinion entertained of the cause of the riots, the protection of the innocent, and the security of the state, imperiously demanded the adoption of the most prompt, vigorous, and decisive measures.

A bill was accordingly introduced by Mr.

Secretary Ryder for the more exemplary punishment of Frame breakers. In moving for leave to bring in the bill, the Right Honorable Secretary entered into a detail of the circumstances to which we have already alluded, and many others equally atrocious; and in support of the proposition which he was about to submit to the House, namely, of enacting the punishment of death as that to be awarded for the commission of the offence of frame breaking, he would quote the opinion of Sir Matthew Hale, on the subject of severity of punishment in certain cases; and he was happy to have the support of so great a lawyer, and so humane a man, with him on the present occasion. Sir Matthew Hale observes "Where offences grow enormous, frequent, and dangerous to the state; where they threaten to become destructive to society, and are likely to produce ruin among the inhabitants of a place, severe punishments, and even that of death itself are sometimes necessary for the safety of a country." This description, Mr. Ryder said, applied well to Nottingham, where no less than one thousand frames had already been broken, and the lives and properties of the inhabitants were at the mercy of a ferocious mob, who threatened

destruction to all who opposed them. "The Bill would," he said "be brought in, not with a view to punish, but to prevent crime; it had not for its object the shedding of human blood, but to render the commission of offences less frequent. When some persons talked of sporting with the lives of others, it might be asked, who sported with the lives of the people? —who neglected the general safety?—on whom must fall the awful responsibility if a remedy were not promptly applied to evils so alarming? If the law were openly defied, and force opposed to force, thousands must fall victims to the sentiments of a false humanity. Capital punishment was always in itself an evil, but if ever there was a case which called for an increase in the severity of our criminal code it was the present."

The bill, in its progress, met with strong opposition, and, in the course of the discussions which took place upon it, Mr. Peel gave his support to the measure, which passed both Houses by a large majority. Mr. Ryder then brought in a bill, having for its object to make the administering and the taking secret oaths, binding a party to the commission of crime, a capital felony. This measure also passed, after

receiving a similar opposition to that given to the preceding one. Both bills received the royal assent at the same time.

The adoption of these measures, which the government lost no time in enforcing, had the effect of quelling, in a short time, the spirit of insubordination and riot, which had for so many weeks pervaded the disturbed districts; public confidence, and the belief that the law was now sufficient to protect the peaceable and well disposed, against the machinations of the disaffected and mischievous, gained ground, and peace, and security for personal safety, and the respect of private right were somewhat restored, when the public mind was again placed in a state of alarm, by the commission of a crime for which the modern history of this country scarcely furnishes a parallel; the case bearing the closest analogy to it, is that of the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham, by Felton, in the reign of Charles the First: we allude to the murder of Mr. Perceval, by Bellingham. This horrid, and, as appeared by the confession of the murderer, unprovoked assassination took place on the 11th of May. On the very threshold of the House of Commons, on that day, the first Minister of the Crown was, (while

crossing the lobby of the House on his way to his place, with a mind, no doubt fully occupied by the weighty concerns of the empire, in a state of high health, and probably anticipating a long career of worldly prosperity), in a moment deprived of life, by the cool, deliberate, unprovoked act of the assassin Bellingham. The following is the account which appeared in the public journals of the day.

"On Monday afternoon, May the 11th, 1812, at about a quarter past five o'clock, as the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, was entering the lobby of the House of Commons, he was shot by a person of the name of Bellingham, who had placed himself for that purpose, at the door leading from the stone stairs into the lobby. Mr. Perceval was in company with Lord Francis Osborne; and immediately on receiving the ball, which entered his left breast, he staggered and fell at the feet of Mr. W. Smith, M. P. for Norwich, who was standing near the second pillar. The only expression he uttered was, 'Oh! I am murdered;' and the latter word was inarticulate, the sound dying between his lips. He was instantly raised by Mr. Smith, who did not

recognise him until he saw his face. The report of the pistol, drew several persons to the spot, who assisted Mr. Smith in conveying the body of Mr. Perceval into the Speaker's apartment; but before he reached it all signs of life had departed. Mr. Perceval's corpse was placed on a bed, and Mr. Lynn, the surgeon of Great George Street was sent for. That gentleman arrived in a few minutes, but even before his arrival Mr. Perceval had ceased to exist. On examining the wound, Mr. Lynn found that the ball, which was of an unusual size, had penetrated the heart near the centre, and had passed completely through it. Death had been almost instantaneous."

In the confusion which followed no heed was taken of the murderer; at length a person belonging to the House exclaimed, addressing himself to Bellingham, "That is the rascal who fired!" Several persons rushed towards him, and some of them seized him; he did not, however, attempt to escape, as he might have done, but calmly said, "I am the unfortunate man—I wish I were in Mr. Perceval's place. My name is Bellingham. It is a private injury —I know what I have done—it was a denial of justice on the part of the government." On

searching his person, to which he made no resistance, a steel pistol, loaded, about seven inches in length, was found in his pocket. The pistol with which the deed was perpetrated, a steel one about six inches long, was also found upon him. It is not our intention to go into a detail of all the circumstances of this diabolical murder, which have already been so frequently told as to be familiar to most persons; it may suffice to say, that after being kept in custody, at the House of Commons, during the examination of witnesses before Mr. Alderman Combe ; he was taken before the Privy Council, and from thence to Newgate. On the Friday following his trial came on, before Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, Mr. Baron Graham, and Sir Nash Grose, when the Jury found him guilty, and sentence of death was passed upon him. On the following Monday the execution took place.

It is now necessary that we should take a brief view of the proceedings which immediately followed the murder of the late Prime Minister in the House of Commons. On the evening following the death of Mr. Perceval, Lord Castlereagh brought down a message to the House from the Prince Regent, recom-

mending that a provision should be made for the widow and family of the deceased out of the public purse. On the following day, the Prince's message was taken into consideration, when, on the motion of Lord Castlereagh, a resolution for granting £50,000 from the consolidated fund, to be vested in the hands of trustees, for the benefit of the deceased Minister's children, was unanimously agreed to; as was also a resolution for granting to Mrs. Perceval an annuity of £2,000 for her life, with remainder to the next male heir of the deceased Mr. Perceval. Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Ponsonby, Sir F. Burdett, Mr. Wynn, and Mr. Wilberforce declaring their full concurrence in these proceedings.

Thus perished the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, in the 50th year of his age, by the hand of an assassin; a writer of the day, opposed to him in politics, speaking of him says, "He was a man who was not more distinguished by the singular variety and extent of his talents, than by the possession of almost every public and private virtue. Descended from an ancient and honorable family, and discovering in his youth the marks of those high qualities which afterwards became so conspicuous, he was better

entitled than most of his contemporaries to indulge the hopes of an honorable ambition, and to look forward to the attainment of the most gratifying distinctions to which a great and vigorous mind can aspire. It may be added, that if Mr. Perceval's public virtues commanded the admiration of his country, his private character secured him the love and respect of all who had the happiness of knowing him—mild, affable, sincere; a tender husband, an affectionate parent, a kind and faithful friend; it may, perhaps, with more truth be said of him than of any other of our modern statesmen, that he possessed all the virtues which are at once the ornament and solace of private life. Never, perhaps, was there so rare a union of the qualities which inspire respect, with those which create affection for the individual; and it was the singular fortune of this great and good man, that his political adversaries vied with his friends in the panegyrics which they pronounced on his spotless and amiable character."

The death of Mr. Perceval created universal consternation throughout the country; an opinion was generally entertained by all parties, that, deprived of their leader, the ministry must fall to pieces, unless they could gain an acces-

sion of strength by inducing some of the influential leaders of the opposition to join them in the government. In selecting the persons by whose aid they hoped to gain that accession of strength, of which they were supposed to stand in need, they could not long hesitate. With the avowed leaders of the opposition, who had so recently and repeatedly declared that they differed upon principle with the late minister on every point of his political creed, a creed by which they were determined to abide, it was impossible they could coalesce; and their views were too sincere and honorable to permit them to make an attempt which they well knew must prove unsuccessful. They therefore determined on seeking support in this emergency from individuals of distinguished abilities and established reputation as statesmen, who had already formed part of the administration of the country; and who, although removed from taking an active part in the direction of public affairs by certain untoward circumstances, still maintained a general conformity of political sentiments with the cabinet of Mr. Perceval. Overtures were accordingly made by Lord Liverpool to the Marquis of Wellesley and Mr. Canning; and the terms proposed were

such as the honor of both parties demanded. His Lordship in his communication stated, that the Prince Regent, although determined to continue his administration on its present basis, was desirous of strengthening it by the aid of such persons as agreed most nearly and generally in the principles on which public affairs had been conducted; that, with this object in view, His Royal Highness naturally looked to Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning for their assistance in carrying out his intentions. That the arrangements should be made satisfactory to them; that the friends of both parties should be included; and that while he, Lord Liverpool, should be placed at the head of the Treasury, Lord Castlereagh should retain the situation which he then held, both in the government and the House of Commons.

In reply to this proposition, Lord Wellesley, on behalf of himself and Mr. Canning, asked what were the opinions and views of Ministers respecting the Catholic Question, and the mode of carrying on the war in the Peninsula. Lord Liverpool replied, that the opinion of the Cabinet on these questions remained unaltered. That ministers were not aware of any means by which they could extend the

scale of warlike operations, but that it was the wish of government to make the greatest efforts in the cause of Spain, which the resources of the country would admit of. The result of this first effort at a union was, that Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning both positively declined to form a part of the Administration, assigning as a reason, the avowed sentiments of Ministers on the Catholic Question.

The failure of this negociation led to an attempt, through the medium of Lord Moira, to induce Lords Grenville and Grey to accept of appointments in the Cabinet under Lord Liverpool. The nation at large had already manifested extreme disgust and impatience at the anarchy in which the government had now for so long a time been plunged, owing to the conduct of individuals who, from motives of personal animosity or ambition, had withdrawn themselves from the service of the country at so important a crisis. An attempt previously made by the Marquis of Wellesley to induce the noble persons named above to take part in the administration had failed; but it was supposed that the appointment by the Prince, of Lord Moira, a man distinguished by his popular talents, and who was not so closely connected

with either party as those who had been formerly engaged in the negociation, to bring about an arrangement, would have led to a successful result. An application made by the Noble Earl to Lords Grey and Grenville showed, however, at once, that the public expectation was to be again disappointed. Those noble persons once more, and in still more decided terms than before, declined to join their efforts to those of his Royal Highness, for forming an Administration on an extended basis.

The conduct of Ministers, throughout the whole of these negociations, appears to have been such as deserved and gained public approbation. They made no attempt to obtrude their services on the country, but, on the contrary, so long as the negociations continued, they put themselves entirely out of consideration, and gave every facility, which their principles and feelings would admit of, to the arrangements so anxiously desired. The time had now arrived, however, when a sense of duty called on them to adopt a different course. The negociations having failed, it became apparent that, without their interposition, the Prince Regent and the country must have been exposed to great difficulties. They

felt it was their duty to stand forward, and they did not hesitate to encounter the heavy responsibility which belonged to a crisis so momentous: in acting thus they had no other object but the advantage of the country in view; and their ability to serve it with advantage was soon apparent throughout Europe; whilst, at home, their conduct, and the measures they adopted, obtained for them the confidence of Parliament and the approbation of the public.

Though fully convinced of the state of public feeling towards them, Lord Liverpool and his colleagues, the ministerial arrangements being now complete, were anxious that this general sentiment in their favour should be unequivocally declared; and, as the Parliament was approaching that period of its existence when a dissolution must of necessity take place, they wisely determined to expedite that event and make an immediate appeal to the people. Accordingly, the business of the session having been so far expedited as to admit of it, Parliament was, on the 30th of August, prorogued; and on the 29th of September following a proclamation announcing its dissolution appeared in the Gazette. The opponents of the Ministry hailed this measure as one of

triumph; they pretended to see, in the issue of this experiment, the certain overthrow of Lord Liverpool's new Cabinet. The Ministers, however, waited with silent confidence the result of the elections; and it was soon apparent that their anticipations of a successful issue to the contest were well founded. Their opponents resorted to every practicable artifice, with a view to counteracting the general popularity which Ministers were daily acquiring, but without success. Their hopes were fated to be disappointed. Sir Samuel Romilly was unfortunate at Bristol; Mr. Brougham, after a severe contest, was obliged to yield to Mr. Canning at Liverpool; and Mr. Peel was returned for Chippenham. The same good fortune attended the Ministers, and similar disappointment waited on the hopes of the opposition in various other quarters; and the influence of the Whigs seemed to experience a rapid decline, whilst the Administration derived a great accession of strength from an experiment which it was predicted would disappoint their expectations, and prove fatal to the stability of their power. The following is a list of the Administration as it stood at the dissolution of the Parliament, on the 29th of September, 1812:—

IN THE CABINET.

Earl of Harrowby	President of the Council.
Lord Eldon, ...	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl Westmoreland, . . .	Lord Privy Seal.
Earl of Liverpool, . . .	First Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister.
Rt. Hon. Nicholas Vansittart	Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer.
Lord Viscount Melville, . .	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Lord Mulgrave, ...	Master Gen. of the Ordnance.
Lord Viscount Sidmouth .	Sec. for the Home Department.
Lord Viscount Castlereagh, .	Secretary for Foreign Affairs.
Earl Bathurst, ...	Sec. for War and the Colonies.
Earl of Buckinghamshire, .	President of the Board of Controul for the Affairs of India.
Marquis Camden.	

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Lord Viscount Palmerston, .	Secretary at War.
Earl of Clancarty, . , . .	President of the Board of Trade.
Right Hon. F. Robinson, .	Vice-President of the Board of trade, Treasurer of the Navy.
Lord Charles Somerset, Rt. Hon. Charles Long, .	Joint Paymaster of the Forces.
Earl Chichester, Earl Sandwich, ...	Joint Post-Master General.
Richard Wharton, Esq. Sir Charles Arbuthnot, Kt. .	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Sir William Grant, . . .	Master of the Rolls.
Sir Thomas Plumer, . . .	Attorney General.
Sir William Garrow, . . .	Solicitor General.

IRELAND.

The Duke of Richmond, . .	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Manners, ...	Lord High Chancellor.
Right Hon. Robert Peel. .	Chief Secretary.
Rt. Hon. W. Fitzgerald, . .	Chancellor of the Exchequer.

In this arrangement it will be seen that Mr. Peel had assigned to him a position of great importance—that of Chief Secretary for Ireland. From the alarmingly unquiet state of that portion of our empire, the office to which he was appointed, always one of great responsibility and difficulty, became responsible and difficult in a tenfold degree. It is a circumstance no less singular than unfortunate, that Ireland, with the great capacity which she unquestionably has for improvement of every kind, and the ample means which she possesses of adding to the power and prosperity of the Empire, should hitherto, on almost every occasion when the energies of the country were called forth, have proved an obstacle in many respects to their development. The truth is, that Ireland has never yet been without much deep and alarming discontent; that her citizens have been incessantly urging claims upon the

government, which has given rise to much intemperate discussion, and that so far from considering her alliance with England as an advantage, many of the most daring and active of her people have and are still busily employed in devising means by which a separation between the two countries might be accomplished.

It is the misfortune of the Irish nation, that whilst the more ambitious and intriguing of the middle ranks are perpetually engaged in fomenting discord, the lower orders, who are without wealth or education, become an easy prey to all classes of adventurers; their ignorance and credulity are easily imposed on, and their ardent spirits and ill-regulated minds are seduced without difficulty into adventures the most hazardous, and even into projects the most atrocious. Great faults have no doubt been committed by the people, and great crimes by the demagogues, who are always at work to agitate the public mind. The manifold errors of the government of Ireland, committed in past times, have left to the present age evils so difficult to be corrected, that those who are most ardent in the cause of improvement have frequently been deterred by that violence and

malignity which centuries of misgovernment have produced among the Irish people. To add to the other misfortunes of Ireland, a great proportion of her people profess a religion which is not the religion of the State. It cannot be considered wonderful that, in a country thus situated, frequent symptoms of disaffection to the government, numerous and atrocious crimes, and a general spirit of distrust and discord, should prevail.

But the grand question in Irish politics was that of Catholic Emancipation—a question which had unfortunately divided contending factions, and been pursued with a heat and animosity which bid defiance to sober discussion. The leaders of a powerful but disappointed party in England had avowed themselves the champions of the Catholic cause, which they found a most convenient instrument of annoyance to the Administration. Early in the session of Parliament of this year (1812), they intimated their desire to bring forward the Catholic claims for discussion in Parliament, and they assigned as a reason for this precipitation a wish that the Prince Regent should know their opinions on this subject as distinctly as he knew those of his Ministers. Many

allusions were made at this time to certain promises which it was said his Royal Highness had made on this subject; but no one could state specifically the time when, the place where, or the person to whom the Prince had made these promises. Indeed his Royal Highness never could have given any pledge on the subject; and it was at once both unconstitutional and indecent to make such allusions. Motions, for the appointment of committees, to take into consideration the laws imposing civil disabilities on his Majesty's Catholic subjects, were brought forward both by Mr. Grattan and Mr. Canning, in the Commons. That of Mr. Grattan, which was for immediate enquiry, was negatived; but that of Mr. Canning, which went to pledge the House to enquiry in the next session, was carried by a majority of 129.

It was at this period that Mr. Peel, in consequence of the ministerial arrangements which took place on the death of Mr. Perceval, was selected to fill the important situation of Chief Secretary for Ireland, in the place of Mr. Wellesley Pole—the Duke of Richmond still remaining at the head of the Irish government. At the period of Mr. Peel's entrance into

political life, and in fact from the time of the union, the question of the principles upon which Ireland was in future to be governed had necessarily become one of the most warmly disputed, as it certainly was one of the most important which engaged the attention of public men on this or the other side of the Channel. At the time of which we are speaking, the Catholic Question had already separated the Tory party into two sections. Not only the entire of the able and talented men who were then the leaders of the Whig party, but some of the most distinguished and influential of those who led the Tory ranks had, from the first, felt the necessity of governing Ireland in accordance as they contended with the feelings of the Irish people. This opinion, they avowed, and one part of their policy consisted in placing the Catholics of Ireland on a footing of equality with their Protestant fellow subjects. Among those who thought thus were Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, whose opinions as statesmen were now looked up to, and highly estimated, in all parts of the United Kingdom. Still, however, a very large majority of the Tory leaders, and their supporters amongst the people, were opposed to such a system of

government as that proposed by what was styled the "Liberal party;" and the prejudices of George III. gave to the Anti-Catholic party an overwhelming influence in the State and with the public, many of whom, by petitions presented to the legislature, and by addresses to the throne, strongly remonstrated against a change so sweeping in the ancient laws and regulations, both in Church and State, as that contemplated by the supporters and advocates of the Catholic claims, as regarded Ireland. By the premature death of Mr. Perceval, who had been considered the head of the Anti-Catholic party, that party was left without a leader in the House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning being, as we have already observed, both pledged to support the measure of Emancipation, whenever and by whomsoever brought forward, and whether connected with the Administration or not. The measure having been declared what is denominated an open question.

The talents of Mr. Peel, though then very imperfectly developed, pointed him out to this numerous and influential party as being the best calculated of any member of the House to become its leader, and young as he was, from

the time of his becoming Chief Secretary for Ireland he may be considered as the head and leader of that important party in the House of Commons. Thus, at the very commencement of his political career, the circumstance which offered this flattering gratification to his ambition, ranged him on the side of those principles of government of which he has seen the influence declining daily during the remainder of his political life, and which certainly withdrew him from, and placed him in active opposition to that popular cause of which his birth rendered him the natural, and his talents would have enabled him to become, the most efficient partizan.

Mr. Peel's Irish Administration, it is scarcely necessary to say, was, under these circumstances, conducted on decidedly orange principles, tempered, however, as his strongest opponents at the time, and since, have allowed, by that caution and liberality, by which his good sense has generally moderated his political acts. The same system of rigour which had been habitually maintained in Ireland, was continued through his administration; to his credit, however, it must be recorded, that he exhibited a friendly feeling to schemes of national education;

and in the debates which took place on that subject, expressed himself favourable to the principle of a common education of the youths of different sects, a system that the party, of which he is now the leader, has recently made one of the objects of its denunciation.

On the subject of education in Ireland, we may here observe, that from the report of the commissioners appointed to enquire into the state of education in that country, which was laid before Parliament on the 28th of January, 1813; it appears that there were, at that time, in seventeen out of the twenty-two dioceses into which that country is divided, 3737 school-masters; educating 162,367 pupils. Of these masters 1,271 were Protestants, and 2,465 Catholics; of their pupils the Protestants amounted to 45,590, and the Catholics to 116,977. These 17 dioceses comprised about five-sixths of the superficial extent of Ireland; but it is doubtful whether they contained more than four-fifths of its actual population. It was considered that had similar returns been made from the whole of Ireland, the number of pupils receiving education would have been found to exceed 200,000, and that of the masters upwards of 4,600.

At the period of Mr. Peel's appointment to the Chief Secretaryship for Ireland, better prospects appeared to be opening for the Catholic population of that country. The Ministers were divided in opinion as to the merits of the Catholic Question; they had ceased to interest themselves with zeal in the result; and the inclinations of the Prince Regent were understood to be favourable to the petitioners. The Protestants, however, were suddenly seized with alarm; petitions against the claims of the Catholics were poured into Parliament from all quarters, and numerous associations were formed with the avowed intention of opposing any further concessions. Still the friends of the Catholics were determined to persevere, and on the 25th of February, Mr. Grattan moved that the House should resolve itself into a committee, to prepare a bill for the relief of the Irish Catholics. This motion led to a long debate, which, after two adjournments, terminated in its being carried in the affirmative by a majority of 264 to 224; a committee to prepare the bill was appointed, and a bill was brought in. By its provisions Catholics were to be admitted to sit in Parliament, and to hold all offices, civil and military, except those connected with the Great

Seal, and that of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. They were, however, to be restrained the right of presentation to any living, in the church, in a university, or public school. The oaths which the law required to be taken by persons in office were to be dispensed with, in the case of Roman Catholics; and instead of them, a new oath was to be taken, presenting, it was hoped, nothing to which a loyal Catholic could object. It contained an engagement to do nothing which could be injurious to the British Constitution, or to the Established Church, and a disavowal of certain doctrines of the Romish Creed, which appeared inconsistent with the obligations of society. Roman Catholic clergymen were to take an oath that they would not recommend, sanction, or concur in the appointment or consecration of any Bishop of whose loyalty they were not well informed: the episcopal functions were to be conferred only upon a natural born subject, who had been resident in the kingdom five years immediately previous to consecration. Mr. Canning proposed also to add a proviso, that no Roman Catholic bishop should, in future, be appointed without a certificate of loyalty from five English or Irish Catholic Peers, appointed by the Crown, to

grant such certificates. All bulls or briefs received from Rome, were to be submitted to the examination of commissioners, consisting of the same Catholic Peers; two Roman Catholic bishops, the Lord Chancellor, and one of the Secretaries of State, and to these propositions it was understood, Mr. Grattan and his friends gave their consent.

Every thing proceeded apparently most prosperously for the Catholics, and it was generally believed that the bill would certainly be carried. A very different fate, however, was reserved for it; when the committee came to that clause, by which Catholic members were to be admitted to sit in both Houses of Parliament, Mr. Abbot, the Speaker, afterwards Lord Colchester, in an eloquent speech opposed the measure, and such was the impression made on the House by the Right Hon. Gentleman's address, that the clause was rejected by a majority of 251 to 247.

The bill being thus shorn of its principal clause, was abandoned by the party by whom it was brought forward; and with this decision the proceedings of the session, as regarded the Catholic Question, closed, and Parliament was soon after prorogued.

In the beginning of November, of the same year, 1813, Parliament again assembled; during the recess, events of the greatest importance had occurred. The mad career of Buonaparte had received a severe check, and men began to hope that those ambitious projects, which had threatened the overthrow of all the regular Governments of Europe, and the substitution of universal slavery and submission to one man, the ruler of France,—were about to terminate in the defeat of the usurper. In the accomplishment of this great object, England had taken the lead; to her exertions and sacrifices were to be attributed the downfall of the great disturber of the peace of nations; the man whose insatiable ambition and thirst of rule, no acquirement of territory, however extensive, could satisfy. Never did a Sovereign of these kingdoms meet his Parliament under more auspicious circumstances than did the Prince Regent on this occasion. It was impossible for the most litigious opponent of the Government to deny that the personal firmness of the Prince, under very trying circumstances, had most materially contributed towards the great results: the anticipation of which, now filled the country with exultation. Under these

circumstances, it might reasonably be expected that the public business would not be interrupted in its progress, by angry discussion or vexatious opposition; but, on the contrary, that his Royal Highness's government would receive the general support and confidence of Parliament and the country. This expectation was not disappointed. The Prince opened the session in person. In his progress to and from the House of Lords he was most enthusiastically greeted; in Parliament the address, in reply to the royal speech, was carried in both Houses unanimously; and in the interval between the assembling of Parliament, on the fourth of November, and its adjournment on the twenty-sixth of December, to the first of March following, much of the most important business of the session was disposed of.

Parliament met again at the time specified, and the remainder of the session was rendered conspicuous by the discussion of two subjects which, have since, and at the present time, continue to occupy much of the public attention, namely the amelioration of our system of Poor Laws, and the amendment of the Corn Laws. On the 27th of April, Sir Egerton Brydges moved for leave to bring in a bill to

amend the existing Poor Laws. The object of the Hon. Baronet was to ameliorate the law of settlement as it then stood; and in introducing this subject, he entered into a most able *exposé* of the evils of the existing system, and proposed his remedy; the motion met with strong opposition from the country gentlemen, marshalled and led on to the combat by Mr., now Lord Western; by whose exertions, founded on, and supported by arguments urging the danger of innovations on existing systems, this effort, on the part of Sir Egerton Brydges, was rendered nugatory, the House having refused to sanction the improvements suggested by him.

On the subject of the Corn Laws, a subject now occupying so much of public attention, and giving rise to so much difference of opinion, it may not be uninteresting to notice the view taken of it twenty-eight years ago by one of the most extensive, practical, and best informed agriculturists of that or any other period. Mr. Western, the then member for Essex, speaking on the subject of free trade in corn, observes; "That the import of all sorts of grain, on an average of the ten preceding years, had been about one million of quarters; the native

growth had been as thirty-four to one: it was necessary to have this proportion in their contemplation, that they might see how speedily any diminution of our own agriculture would reduce the aggregate supply. The regulation of the foreign trade had generally been subject, as it then was, to a great diversity of opinion. Some gentlemen thought it safer to prohibit the importation of foreign corn, and to rely upon the steady exertions of our own farmers; others contended that the importation should be stopped at what is called the medium price; and there were those who maintained that the importation and exportation of corn should be perfectly free, and liable to no restriction whatever."

"Now," observed Mr Western, "it is impossible to doubt for a moment, that if an entire freedom of trade could be established throughout the world, it would be decidedly for the advantage of mankind in general. There is not a dissentient voice upon this subject; at the same time, no hope or expectation can reasonably be entertained that such an event will ever come to pass. It is impossible, in the present state of the different countries of Europe and the world, or in any probable state which the most sanguine person can look

forward to, that such relations of concord and amity can ever be established among nations as shall secure an uninterrupted freedom of trade. But it is said, though we cannot look forward to the freedom of trade generally, it would be better, as far as lies in our power, to have a free trade in corn; to permit a free export constantly, and to open our markets at all times to the admission of corn of foreign growth. The real question is, whether such a system would give us, in a course of years, a more abundant, more steady, and cheaper supply. I am convinced it would not. But let us examine what the effects of such a measure would be. If the superior fertility of foreign soils, or other circumstances, should enable the foreign grower to pay the freight, and undersell the British farmer, the first consequence would certainly be, that British agriculture must give way to the extent of the increase of the foreign corn imported. The more sterile lands of this empire would be thrown out of tillage, the capital therein employed would seek more productive channels, the proportion of foreign supply would increase, and our own produce diminish; our present import of one million of quarters would arrive

perhaps at five millions, and our own growth would be reduced most likely from thirty-four millions of quarters to thirty millions; and if we could draw more copiously from foreign countries, our own produce would of course be further reduced. It cannot, however, be for a moment conceived by any one that we can draw our entire supply of corn from foreign countries; there must be some limit: then, I say, when we have arrived at that limit we shall be exactly in the same situation in which we are now, except that we shall have five millions of quarters of foreign, supposing that to be the limit, instead of one million, and thirty millions of our own growth instead of thirty-four. When this is done, what can prevent the price rising to the same level it would naturally reach, if no such change had taken place? I put out of the question here the manifest objections to so great a reliance upon foreign, and, perhaps, hostile countries, and view the argument as if divested of all these considerations."

Such were some of the arguments used by Mr. Western, in his place in the House of Commons, in the year 1814; and in the view taken of the case, at that time, by the member

Essex, Mr. Peel fully concurred. Notwithstanding the opposition, however, a bill was brought in and passed; but the discussions having created a general ferment throughout the country, and an unprecedented number of petitions having been presented against any alteration in the existing Corn Laws, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the 6th of June, came down to the House and proposed the appointment of a committee to enquire into the question of the Corn Laws, generally, before any further steps were taken.

This motion was agreed to, the committee was appointed, and the further consideration of this important question was postponed to the next session.

The state of Ireland was at this period, and had for some time past, been such as to call imperatively on the legislature for the adoption of some prompt and decisive measure for the restoration of tranquillity and the preservation of the public peace in that portion of the United Kingdom. The evil which it was now proposed to remedy, had not risen on a sudden, but had existed for a considerable time. Many parts of Ireland were in a disturbed state, and the Irish Ministry were so well convinced that

the existing law was not equal to put down these disturbances, that they had been prepared to bring forward a measure, having for its object to strengthen the hands of Government, at an early period of the session, but postponed doing so, under a hope that the glorious events which had taken place on the continent—the overthrow of Bounaparte; the restoration of the legitimate Sovereign of France, and the general pacification of Europe, would have operated to restore peace to Ireland. Unfortunately the hopes and expectations of the Government in these respects were entirely disappointed. The effects which these extraordinary and unexpected changes in the affairs of Europe had on the situation of Ireland were scarcely perceptible. The nature and character of the disturbances, which at this period existed in Ireland, are well described in a letter, written by a magistrate who was sent into the County of Westmeath, to make enquiries, and institute investigation where necessary. The writer of the letter in question, under the date of the 23rd of March, 1814, says :—" The disturbances in this county appear to have commenced about the beginning of 1813, and

have been rapidly increasing ever since, notwithstanding great exertions have been made on the part of the magistracy to check and subdue them; the persons engaged in the disturbances, commenced their outrages by attacking houses, robbery of fire-arms, and swearing the rabble to obey such rules and orders as should be dictated and pronounced by them. Their first object appeared to me to be, that of regulating the price of ground set in con-acre, to prevent old tenants from being turned out of their farms, and to regulate the fees and dues payable to their own (the Roman Catholic) clergy. To effect these purposes, they posted notices through different parts of the country declaring vengeance against any person who should not comply with such their lawless dictates; if a tract of land was to be set in con-acre, these lawless miscreants would set a price per acre upon it, and any person giving more, would certainly receive personal torture, or suffer some injury in his property. I have examined into the cases of many individuals where personal torture had been inflicted, and I uniformly found it to proceed from some dispute relative to ground, either by giving a price exceeding that

fixed on by these miscreants, or by taking a farm, of which the late occupier had been dispossessed by his landlord.

There exist in Ireland many obstacles in the way of the ordinary administration of the law, and one of the greatest is, the difficulty of procuring persons to give information to Government, and evidence against the violators of the peace. There is in that country, if one may be allowed the expression, a sort of romantic feeling, independent of any consideration of personal danger, which renders the name and character of an informer odious, and is almost sufficient of itself to close the ordinary sources from whence information can be derived. This feeling, however, was most powerfully assisted in its operation by the dreadful system of intimidation, established in the disturbed districts, with a view to preventing evidence being given. A melancholy instance of this may be mentioned here. An unfortunate man had given information against some persons for administering unlawful oaths, and it was found necessary, after he had given his information, to keep him in gaol for his personal security, until he was brought up to Dublin to give evidence. He was cautioned against going back to his own

country; he was, however, so desirous of returning, that no advice could restrain him, and he went home. He, however, had the prudence to remain for some days in the house of Lord Castlemain; but, upon the departure of that nobleman, the man went to his own house. So soon as his return was known, delegates were actually appointed from the three adjoining parishes to murder him. It was afterwards proved upon the evidence of one of the delegates, that, in each of the three parishes, six persons were chosen to commit the murder; the eighteen met at the appointed time, and selected nine out of their number to perpetrate the act. They attacked the house of the poor man, and murdered both him and his wife. This dreadful act shews to what a degree the feelings of the people must have been blunted, and in what odium an informer is held in that country, when it was considered little less than a praiseworthy act to visit with deliberate and atrocious murder the delivery of evidence in a court of justice.

Under these circumstances, the Irish government felt it could not consistently with its duty longer postpone bringing forward their contemplated measure on the subject. Accord-

ingly, on the 23rd of June, 1814, Mr. Peel, in his character of Chief Secretary for Ireland, submitted a motion to the House, for leave to bring in a Bill, to provide for the better execution of the laws in Ireland. In his observations, introductory of the motion, Mr. Peel observed, that, "the state of Ireland had, for some time past, been such as to call for the adoption of additional measures for securing the public tranquillity, and he had been prepared, at a much earlier period, to propose them to the consideration of Parliament; but the hopes that some good effect would be produced by the general pacification of Europe, had induced him to postpone bringing them forward. Such hopes had, however, proved fallacious; and he could not consistently with the due performance of public duty, delay any longer to produce his plan.

"The disturbances, for which he had now to propose a remedy, originated in different causes. The first he should mention was of a political nature; and was the result of combinations of idle, infatuated people, who were made the dupes of persons possessed of superior information. Their object was nothing short of the

overthrow of the existing Government, and the transfer of the allegiance of the people to foreign powers; that such was their intention, was shewn by the tenor of an oath brought in evidence against several persons at the late assizes in Ireland. The oath in question bound the person, taking it, to suffer death rather than give information against his companions; to join the French on their landing, and to do many other treasonable acts. A second class of combinations were those which were formed for the purpose, or on the pretence of redressing local grievances; and though the objects were various, the general mode of carrying them into effect was the same; namely, inflicting violent personal injuries upon those persons who disobeyed their orders. These combinations, he observed, were not only mischievous in their present effects, but were formidable from their accustoming the persons combining, to habits of caution and strict discipline, which might render them dangerous instruments in the hands of designing men. Another unfortunate source of disturbance, was religious animosity, and the pains that had been taken by means of the press, and inflammatory speeches, to induce the Irish Catholics to be-

lieve that the Government was not disposed to administer the same justice to them as to their Protestant fellow subjects. He hoped, however, that the means which had been taken to convince them of the determination of the Government—to treat all offenders against the public peace, with perfect impartiality—had not been without effect. Having pointed out these principal features of the tumults in Ireland, Mr. Peel observed, that one of the greatest obstacles to the administration of the law, in that country, arose from the difficulty of procuring persons to give information to Government, and evidence in case of violations of the peace. This was partly owing to a kind of romantic feeling, and partly to a system of intimidation, which was carried to great lengths, and often led to scenes and acts of most atrocious barbarity. He here read to the House various documents, in support of the statement he had made; and, from which, he drew the conclusion, that the ordinary powers of the civil magistrates were not sufficient to maintain the public tranquillity in Ireland, and observed, that in his opinion it would be politic and desirable to invest the

civil powers with additional authority, rather than to call in the aid of the military.

The provisions of the Bill which he was about to propose went to enable the Lord Lieutenant, for the time being, when disturbances existed in a district, to proclaim it as being in a disturbed state, and to appoint a superintending magistrate, with a salary, and special constables, with salaries. The magistrate to have a house and office, but not to be invested with extraordinary powers; to be responsible immediately to the Government, and removable at pleasure, and to be called upon for those exertions which were not to be expected from the ordinary magistrates. The special constables to be selected from farmers' sons and persons of that class, and to keep watch and ward in the district, under the direction and control of the superintending magistrate. The expences of this establishment to be borne by the district. These, he said, were the principal features of the plan which he had to propose for the cure of the existing evils, and he concluded by moving "for leave to bring in a Bill to provide for the better execution of the laws in Ireland, by appointing superintending magistrates and ad-

ditional constables in districts, in certain counties."

The proposition gave rise to some conversation as to the principle of the Bill; the House was, however, almost unanimous in its expression of approbation at the mildness of the measure, and leave was given to bring in the Bill, which was accordingly done; and after meeting with some opposition was read a first and second time.

The Bill having thus passed through the two first stages, and its principle having been recognised by a large majority of the House, at the second reading, it was committed, when on the 8th of June—

Mr. Peel rose, he said, with great regret, to propose an additional measure for the preservation of the public peace in Ireland. When he brought forward the Bill then in progress he had reserved to himself the right, should circumstances require it, of bringing in another of a more effective nature. Since he last addressed the House he had endeavoured to collect information, from every quarter, of the state of the country; and he was sorry to say that in those parts of Ireland where the laws had been administered with the greatest severity, and where the greatest number of convictions

had taken place, the terror of those convictions had scarcely survived the cause, while new combinations of a more extensive and dangerous kind had been formed, which defied the operation of the law as it now existed. It was now, therefore, become necessary to entrust the Irish Government with a power, to be exercised in case of emergency, of a nature more decisive than that of which it was at present possessed.

"The proposition he should make to effect this object, was the revival of a measure which had received the sanction of parliament in 1807. It was contained in a clause of the Insurrection Act, providing, that in case any part of the country should be disturbed, or in danger of being so, two Justices of the Peace should be empowered to summon an extraordinary session of the county, which should consist of seven magistrates, who were to make a report to the Lord Lieutenant that the district was in a state of disturbance, and that the ordinary law was inadequate to the preservation of the peace; the Lord Lieutenant, by the advice of his Privy Council, was thereupon empowered to issue a proclamation commanding all residents within the said district to keep within their houses from sunset to sunrise; and that no person

should be suffered to be drinking in a public house after nine o'clock at night; and further, if any persons should be detected out of their houses, at the prohibited times, without being able to show good cause, they should be liable to transportation for the term of seven years. It was also required that the Lord Lieutenant should order a special session of the peace to be held, at which these persons should be tried, and, if necessary, that trial by Jury should be dispensed with.

Other provisions sanctioned the employment of the military; enabled the magistrates to pay domiciliary visits; and break open doors if denied admission. Mr. Peel allowed these measures to be objectionable, and evils, to a certain extent; but the House had now to decide upon comparative evils. It was by no means the intention of the government to have recourse to this act, if it should pass, on ordinary occasions, but only when all other means of quelling disturbance should fail. He then referred to the information which had been received of outrages that had been perpetrated by the disaffected in different places. In Queen's County the Caravats were levying contributions from the little farmers every night, and seizing

arms and ammunition wherever they could be found; a set of savages, called Carders, were active in the County of Westmeath, and kept the poor inhabitants in constant dread of assassination, or of having their cabins burnt over their heads. These men derived their appellation of Carders from their practice of applying wool cards, with which they tore the flesh from the bones of the objects of their inhuman assaults, whose offence in most instances, was no more than giving a higher rent to their landlords than others would, or refusing to join their lawless bands. These atrocities were not practised by one sect against another, but Catholics and Protestants were alike exposed to them. Mr. Peel, in concluding a very forcible address to the House moved, "That leave be given to bring in a bill, to provide for the preserving and restoring of peace in such parts of Ireland as may at any time be disturbed by seditious persons entering into unlawful combinations or conspiracies."

This proposition of the Secretary for Ireland met with a warm opposition from several members of the Whig party. The opponents of the measure were led on by Mr. Abercrombie, who, whilst he fully acquitted the Irish Govern-

ment of any desire to grasp at too much power, contended that the present application should have been preceded by a Parliamentary enquiry, and report from a select or secret committee. Several Irish members, however, spoke in favour of the measure, and leave was ultimately given to bring in the Bill.

The debates upon this measure were long and animated: an amendment proposed by Mr. I. P. Grant, to limit the operations of the bill, if passed, to one year instead of three, was negatived without a division; and the Bill was read a third time and passed without further opposition. In the House of Lords the measure was also amply discussed, but it ultimately passed that House, and in due course received the Royal assent.

Connected with the same same subject was a motion brought forward by Sir John Newport, at this time, relating to Orange assocciations in Ireland. In introducing this motion the Right Honorable Baronet observed, that upon a former occasion he had indulged a hope that the sense of Parliament, so clearly, and with a single exception, so unanimously expressed, would have discouraged those associations, and would have led to that total abandonment of their

principle which would have gone some way at least, in tranquillizing the internal state of Ireland. It was, however, vain to look for that happy consummation, until all associations were entirely extinguished, and to use the emphatic words of a noble lord (Castlereagh) not then present, "until the people were under the dominion of the law, and not under that of clubs and associations." Although he had known of the existence of those societies when the subject was last before the House, yet he confidently expected they would have dispersed when the voice of Parliament was so unequivocally expressed; and that this system, whose only object was to insult one great class of the people of Ireland for the petty purpose of party triumph, would have wholly dissolved and passed away. He regretted he had been mistaken, and this regret was heightened when he observed that a Right Honorable gentleman, high in office in Ireland, (Mr. Peel), had considered himself called upon to protect and encourage those societies which Parliament had by its voice declared obnoxious to the public peace. It became then full time for the people of Ireland to know upon what authority those institutions existed. This was also of import-

ance, from the fact of their illegality having been proclaimed by high legal authority. With this view he originated this motion, and for the purpose of showing the necessity of re-echoing the wish of parliament by the voice of the country. Sir John concluded by moving "That there be laid before the House copies of all addresses from societies, or bodies of men, calling themselves Orange Associations, or lodges; and also of all addresses from Grand Juries in Ireland, on the subject of such Orange societies, to the principal Secretary for that part of the kingdom, with his answers thereto."

The motion having been put, Mr. Peel said, "he rose to second the Right Hon. Baronet's motion for the production of the documents upon which he had so strongly commented, with much satisfaction; though, perhaps, a doubt might be entertained whether they were of that nature and character which would justify the House in calling for them. But, although he had no objection to their production, as he had evinced by seconding the motion, he could not avoid troubling the House with a few observations upon the speech by which that motion had been introduced. The speech of the Right Hon. Baronet referred, he believed, to

one which he, Mr. Peel, had made in the last Session of Parliament. He wished very much that the Right Hon. Baronet had been in his place on that occasion, because it would have saved him the trouble of making the present motion, as he would then have been able to judge whether he, Mr. Peel, had given encouragement to societies, most unjustly described by the Right Hon. Baronet, as 'Societies illegally formed, for the purpose of insulting and harrassing their fellow subjects.' It would, however, have been but candid towards him, and respectful towards the House, if the Right Hon. Baronet, when he preferred such a charge, had stated the grounds upon which it was founded—if he had stated in what manner and upon what occasion he, Mr. Peel, had given encouragement to illegal societies formed for such purposes, or to political combinations of any description or character.

"The Right Hon. Baronet had spoken generally of addresses presented to him, Mr. Peel, from Orange lodges, and his answers. Why had not the Right Hon. Baronet, in support of his charge, stated when, upon what occasion, and by whom, those addresses were presented? He had stated that they were published; if

they were, why did he not produce them? He had a right, the house had a right to call upon the Right Hon. Baronet to state, not generally and vaguely, but distinctly and specifically the grounds of his charge. Let the Right Hon. Baronet, if he thought proper, amend his motion so as to call for every address that ever was presented to him, in which there was any allusion, directly or indirectly to this subject, together with his answers. He would willingly support such an amendment, because he only wished that the charges which had been made, should be put in such a shape as would enable him to meet them distinctly. In the course of the last session an Honorable Baronet, (Sir H. Parnell,) presented to the House some petitions respecting Orange Societies, but before he presented them he communicated his intention to him, Mr. Peel; he thanked the Hon. Baronet for his courtesy, but expressed his regret that he should have felt it his duty to bring forward such a subject. The Hon. Baronet did present the petitions, and he, Mr. Peel, took that opportunity of stating clearly, and without reserve, his opinions upon the subject, in order thereby to remove some misapprehensions which prevailed; and he also made some obser-

vations upon the petitions themselves; he then shewed to the House that though they purported to come from persons of all religious persuasions, yet that many of the signatures were written by the same person; one particular instance he pointed out, where ninety-eight or ninety-nine names consecutively were in the same handwriting. What he stated on that occasion, if necessary, he would now repeat. He had never spoken a word or written a line upon the subject which he was desirous to retract. If the principles and conduct of any body of men were misrepresented, nothing should deter him from rising to point out the misrepresentation, and to vindicate them from unmerited charges. Persons might disapprove of the principles of all combinations, but they ought, in common justice, to draw a distinction where a distinction existed, and not confound the associations of the loyal with other associations of a very different character."

After this address, in explanation, Sir John Newport's original motion was agreed to.

At a later period of the Session, Mr. Peel introduced a Bill for rendering more easy and effectual the means of obtaining redress for assaults committed on the person in Ireland.

The object of the measure thus brought forward by the Chief Secretary, was to induce persons who had suffered by violent assaults, more readily to appeal to the law for redress and protection, by enabling them to procure that protection without delay, and at a trifling expence. No opposition was offered in either House. The Bill therefore passed, and in due course received the Royal assent.

The year 1814 was distinguished by an event which will ever be recollected as forming a glorious epoch in the history of this country, and which, although not strictly belonging to a memoir of Mr. Peel, inasmuch as he formed a part of the administration of the day, holding indeed a very important position in the Government, cannot with propriety be passed over entirely in silence—we allude to the visit of the Allied Sovereigns, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and other illustrious individuals, to the Prince Regent of Great Britain. The Sovereigns and their respective suites embarked on board the Impregnable, at Boulogne, on the 6th of June, under a grand discharge of artillery from the French forts. The British fleet consisted of the Impregnable, bearing the flag of his Royal Highness the

Duke of Clarence; the Jason frigate; the Royal Sovereign, and the Royal Charlotte, yachts. The embarkation took place at half-past one o'clock at noon, and at half-past six the illustrious visitors landed safely at Dovor, amidst a full discharge of artillery from the batteries, and the enthusiastic acclamations of tens of thousands of spectators, who had assembled to greet them on their landing. The principal persons who landed with the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia were the Prince Royal of Prussia, Prince William, the King's second son; Prince William, his Majesty's brother; Prince Frederick, nephew to the King; Prince Augustus, his Majesty's cousin; Marshal Blucher; Count Hardenberg; Count Nesselrode; Count Platoff, &c. Their Majesties were received, on their landing, by Lord Yarmouth, Lord Charles Bentinck, and the Earl of Roslyn. The Duke of Clarence had provided a splendid entertainment, of which the royal and illustrious persons partook with much cheerfulness. Their Majesties retired to rest between ten and eleven o'clock. The Emperor slept at Mr. Fector's; the King and Princes at the York Hotel; Lord Yarmouth, with all the general officers, at the Ship Hotel:

on the following morning their Majesties quitted Dovor for the metropolis.

The Emperor of Russia proceeded to the Pultney Hotel, where apartments had been provided for him, and where he was received on his arrival by the Grand Duchess of Oldenburgh, who had come to England some time previous. The news of his Majesty's arrival soon became publicly known, and the house was surrounded by an immense number of the populace, who testified their joy by huzzas, and cries of "long live the Emperor." His Majesty, shortly after his arrival, appeared in the balcony and bowed in a very condescending manner. At half-past four o'clock the Emperor proceeded in Count Lieven's carriage, accompanied by his Excellency, to visit the Prince Regent at Carlton House, where his Majesty received a most cordial welcome from his Royal Highness. His Majesty returned to the Pultney Hotel to dine with his sister the Grand Duchess: he slept there that night, but on the following day took possession of the apartments which had been splendidly fitted up for him in the house of the Duke of Cumberland, in St. James's Palace. The King of Prussia and his sons were accommodated at the Duke of Clarence's

house, in the Stable Yard. Immediately on his arrival his Majesty proceeded to Carlton House, on a visit to the Prince Regent, by whom his Majesty was received in the same cordial manner as the Emperor of Russia had previously been.

The arrival of Field Marshal Prince Blucher, which occurred about six o'clock, afforded an opportunity for a further, and, if possible, increased display of enthusiasm on the part of the populace. The Prince arrived in one of the Regent's private travelling carriages, escorted by a party of the Light Horse. The carriage entered the Park by the Horse Guards, and the drivers, as directed, made their way at once to Carlton House. No sooner were the stable gates opened to admit the carriage than there was a general rush in of the horsemen and the public at large. All attempted restraint upon them was vain: the two sentinels, at the gates with their muskets, were laid on the ground; the porters were completely overpowered; and it was with great difficulty that, with the assistance of the military, they could get the gates closed. The carriage, accompanied by the crowd which had obtained admission, proceeded to the side door, and the General was

about to alight there; but his arrival having been notified to Colonels Bloomfield and Congreve, those officers, in full regimentals, came out and ordered the carriage round to the principal entrance fronting Pall Mall, where they assisted the Marshal to alight, and conducted him to the Prince Regent's presence.

After the first interview, a highly interesting scene took place. The Prince Regent returned with the gallant veteran, from his Royal Highness's private apartment, to the grand hall, and here, surrounded by the people, who had forced an entrance into the palace by scaling the walls, his Royal Highness placed a blue ribband on the Marshal's shoulders, fastening it with his own hands, to which was suspended a beautiful medallion, with a likeness of the Prince, richly set with diamonds. Blucher knelt whilst the Prince was conferring this honor on him, and, on his rising, he kissed the Prince's hand. The Regent and the Marshal then bowed to the public, whose acclamations in return exceeded description.

On the 9th of June, the Prince Regent held a court at Carlton House, to which all our Royal Dukes and the Duchess of York went in state. The Prince of Orange, the Prince of

Mecklenburg, Marshal Blucher, and General d' Yorck, were also present, together with an extraordinary number of the British Nobility and British and Foreign Naval and Military Officers. At half past two o'clock the shouts of the populace announced the approach of his Majesty the King of Prussia, and at a quarter past three, the Emperor of Russia arrived in state, in one of the Prince Regent's carriages, escorted by a party of the Bays; he was received with military honors. His Majesty was dressed in an English uniform, and wore the Order of the Garter. He was met at the great door of the palace by his Royal Highness, who wore a uniform of blue and gold. His Royal Highness conducted the Emperor to his closet, where they held a conference for some time, and were attired by the attendants in the robes of the Order of the Garter.

A procession was then formed from the closet to the chapter room, consisting of the following knights:—the Dukes of York, Kent, Sussex, Cambridge, and Gloucester; the Earl of Chatham, the Marquis of Salisbury, the Duke of Rutland, the Earl of Hardwicke, the Duke of Beaufort, the Earls of Pembroke and Winchelsea; the Marquisses of Stafford and

Hertford, the Earl of Lonsdale, the Marquis of Wellesley, the Dukes of Richmond, Montrose, and Newcastle, followed by the Bishop of Winchester, Prelate, and the Bishop of Salisbury, Chancellor. Then walked the Prince Regent, having on his right the Emperor of Russia in the mantle and collar. The Prince's train was held by Sir W. Keppel. The Emperor of Russia's was carried by the Earl of Yarmouth.

The Prince Regent took his seat on the throne, having on his right a chair of state, in which his Imperial Majesty was placed, and a vacant chair was left for the King of Prussia. His Majesty the King of Prussia was then, after the usual forms had been gone through, declared elected a Knight of the Garter. His Majesty was then introduced to the Chapter, between the Dukes of York and Kent, and was invested with the insignia of the order, and seated in the vacant chair of state.

A statute was then read, detailing the eminent services rendered the common cause by his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, and declaring his Royal and Imperial Apostolic Majesty a Knight of the Order.

Another statute was then read, wherein, after

many high encomiums on the distinguished merits and services of the Earl of Liverpool, and Viscount Castlereagh, it was declared that those noble Lords should also be added to the number of the Knights of the Order. Their Lordships were then severally introduced between the two junior Knights. The Dukes of Montrose and Newcastle also received the honor of Knighthood, and were afterwards invested with the usual ceremonies. The Knights were then called over, and the procession returned in the usual order.

The pursuits of the Emperor Alexander and those of his sister, the Grand Duchess of Oldenburgh, whilst in this country, afforded evident proofs of praise-worthy curiosity and good taste. He exhibited a perfect indifference to shew and parade. On the morning after his arrival he had breakfasted by eight o'clock, and walked in Kensington Gardens with his sister immediately afterwards. He returned to the Pultney Hotel by ten, and then proceeded to view Westminster Hall, the Abbey, and the tombs of the illustrious dead. His sister and himself afterwards visited the British Museum. At one o'clock he held a levée at Cumberland House, which he used as his state apartments;

and was visited by the Prince Regent; he afterwards, together with the Regent, attended the levée of the King of Prussia, at Clarence House. At six o'clock both the illustrious Sovereigns, with their respective suites, attended the court of her Majesty, held expressly for their introduction, at the Queen's palace. Her Majesty, the Princesses, the Allied Sovereigns, their families, &c., dined afterwards with the Prince Regent at Carlton House.

Each day during the residence of the Emperor in the metropolis was passed in the same active pursuit of information, blended with the due regard to the observance of etiquette, and the indulgence of pleasure and recreation. In succession the illustrious strangers visited the City, the Bank, the Tower, the Docks; Greenwich, Woolwich, Chelsea Hospital, Windsor; the Italian Opera, the Theatres. The University of Oxford, and also that of Cambridge. In many of these excursions the royal guests were accompanied by the Prince Regent and other branches of the Royal Family. The Sovereigns and the members of their families also honored Lords Liverpool and Castlereagh with visits at their private residences, on which occasions banquets, participating of regal splen-

dour, and princely magnificence were provided by the noble hosts for their illustrious guests. The citizens of London, whose merchants have been designated Princes, had also the honor of entertaining the Sovereigns, and several members of our own Royal Family at dinner, at Merchant Tailors' Hall, on which occasion the Duke of York took the chair, having the Emperor of Russia on his left, and the King of Prussia on his right; next to the Emperor sat the Duchess of Oldenburgh, and the rest of the table was occupied by Princes, Ministers, and Ambassadors, all dressed in the most splendid costume, chiefly military or naval.

In justice to the hospitality of the corporation of the City of London it is impossible for us to omit noticing here the splendid entertainment given by that body, on the 18th of June, at Guildhall, to the Prince Regent and his illustrious guests—the Monarchs of Russia and Prussia; and which, in costly splendour and magnificence, was never equalled in this country, except by the royal banquet given at Carlton House on the assumption by his Royal Highness of the unrestricted powers of the Regency. The Prince on this occasion went in state, with the full splendour of his court. The

streets through which he passed east of Temple-bar were lined with nearly 8,000 troops. The houses were filled and covered with thousands of spectators; and windows, in particular situations, were let, to parties desirous of viewing the procession, at the enormous sums of from twenty to thirty guineas each window.

At 4 o'clock the cavalcade left Carlton House, in the following order:—The Eleventh Dragoons; seven of the Prince Regent's carriages, in which were the officers of his household and foreign officers of distinction; the state carriages of the Prince of Orange, the Dukes of Gloucester, Cambridge and Kent; each drawn by six horses; the state carriage of the Duke of York, who was accompanied by the two Princes of Prussia; the Speaker of the House of Commons, in his state carriage. Between each of these carriages were sections of the Oxford Blues. Then came the carriages of His Majesty's Ministers, Lord Liverpool, Lord Sidmouth, &c. These were followed by two troops of the Horse Guards, in new uniforms; next came the King's in their official costume; twelve marshals with their staves; the whole body of the King's yeomen, in their state uniform and carrying halberts, preceding a state

carriage drawn by six beautiful white horses, containing the Emperor Alexander and the Duchess of Oldenburgh. Next followed the Prince Regent's carriage of State, in which were his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, the King of Prussia, and two foreign Princes: the carriage was drawn by eight cream coloured horses, richly caparisoned and profusely decorated with ribbands, silk reins, &c.; the royal carriage was followed by the remainder of the Horse Guards. A vast number of carriages, amongst which were those of Lord and Lady Castlereagh, Prince Blucher, the Marquis of Wellesley, Count Platoff, Mr. Peel, and many others containing British noblemen, gentlemen, and foreigners of distinction.

The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and other city officers, had previously assembled in their carriages at Temple Bar. On the approach of the royal cavalcade they quitted their carriages and mounted horses, which were in waiting for them; and the carriages which preceded the Regent's having entered the City, the Lord Mayor, who was arrayed in a crimson velvet robe which cost 550 guineas, bare headed and carrying the sword of state, fell in immediately before the royal carriage; the Aldermen,

Common Crier, Sword Bearer and other city officers, all bare headed, preceding his Lordship; and in this order the procession proceeded to Guildhall.

On arriving at Guildhall, the first object which attracted notice, was a temporary passage, which had been erected from the principal door of the hall, half way into Guildhall yard. This passage was lined with green cloth, and the flooring covered with matting; it was illuminated with a profusion of lamps, and led to the porch of the hall, which was also lined with green cloth and converted into a temporary arbour, in which were displayed the most costly shrubs and evergreens, arranged on shelves, and ornamented with moss.

This arbour extended into the hall, and, being illuminated with variegated lamps, had the most enchanting effect. Thus conducted into the hall, a scene of dazzling splendour burst upon the sight. The whole of the ancient Gothic pile exhibited a profusion of rich cut glass lustres, with some thousands of wax lights, which were suspended from the cieling. The table for the Prince Regent and his Royal visitors was raised four steps above the floor of the hall. Over the centre was a canopy ex-

tending in front, ornamented with the Prince's feathers, and the Russian and Prussian eagles: it was a single table, reaching nearly the width and depth of the hustings. It was served entirely with gold and silver plate. On each side of the canopy were three large mirrors, which reflected the whole of the company. Three beautiful lustres of cut glass were suspended from the lofty ceiling. The east window of the hall was filled with a beautifully illuminated transparency of the King's Arms. The monuments of Earl Chatham and his son, William Pitt, on the opposite side of the hall, were left entirely open to the view of the illustrious visitors. The Aldermen and Common council dined at tables placed in the recesses of the hall, and the other distinguished guests were accommodated at tables spread in the body of the hall. A gallery for the accommodation of ladies, as spectators of the banquet, was erected round the hall, on a level with the windows. This gallery was covered with fine scarlet cloth disposed in festooned draperies. The entire sides and ends of the hall being covered with the same material, and in the same manner. Lustres were pendant from all parts, intermingled with banners with

the arms of different companies. The rise of the steps to the Court of King's Bench led to a splendid room, decorated in the same style with crimson cloth.

On the procession reaching Guildhall, the Prince Regent and other royal visitors were ushered into the Council Chamber, which had been splendidly fitted up, and a canopy and throne erected for the occasion. The Regent being seated on the throne, the Recorder delivered an address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, upon his Royal Highness's visit to the City, which was most graciously received. The Royal and noble visitors promenaded the room for some time in familiar conversation; and the Prince Regent, with the most gracious and condescending freedom, addressed the worthy Chief Magistrate as follows:—

"This, my Lord Mayor, is the first time of my coming into the City as Regent. On similar occasions it has been customary to bestow some compliment on the City of London. I rejoice that on this interesting occasion the Chief Magistracy has fallen into your Lordship's hands, as it enables me at once to evince my respect for the City and my personal

esteem for your Lordship, by declaring my intention of immediately creating you a baronet; and I wish you health to enjoy this honor."

Dinner was then announced, and the Regent, Emperor of Russia, and King of Prussia took their seats under a grand state canopy in the centre of the table, at which were seated twenty-one personages of the blood royal, including the Duchess of Oldenburgh.

The dinner, which included every delicacy in and out of season, was served up on gold and silver plate, and the wines and dessert were of the most choice and costly kind. The appearance of the hall was beautiful beyond description. The Prince Regent left at half past eleven; but the company had not quitted the hall at half past three o'clock in the morning. This was certainly one of the most splendid entertainments ever given by the Corporation of the City of London, and was alike honorable to, and characteristic of the spirit of hospitality and loyalty which has ever distinguished the citizens of the metropolis of the British Empire, and the first city in the universe.

This splendid Civic Banquet was followed by

various fêtes and entertainments given by members of the Royal family; by Lords Liverpool and Castlereagh, and others of the nobility and members of the administration, and which were honored by the presence of the illustrious foreigners. But though thus sought and solicited, the royal strangers did not devote themselves entirely to the pursuit of pleasure, but found time to visit most of our scientific and learned institutions. In the course of these excursions, The British Museum, the Bank, the Mint, the Tower, Woolwich and its arsenal, Greenwich and its noble asylum for the brave Tars of Old England, Chelsea and her splendid place of refuge for her veteran defenders who had served, fought, and bled, and gathered unfading laurels under the Great Captain of the Age, were visited. The Courts of Law and the two Houses of Parliament also attracted the attention of the two Monarchs.

On the 22nd of June, Their Majesties the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, together with the Duchess of Oldenburgh, the Prussian Princes, and their respective suites, quitted London, in several carriages belonging to the Prince Regent, for Portsmouth, to which place His Royal Highness, accompanied by the

Duke of Cambridge, also proceeded, where he arrived first, in consequence of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia stopping on their way, at Coomb Wood, to breakfast with Lord Liverpool. The Regent took up his residence at the Government House; the Emperor and his sister, the Duchess of Oldenburgh, proceeded to Commissioner Grey's house, in the Dock Yard, which had been prepared for their reception; and the King of Prussia and the Prussian Princes were accommodated at the residence of the Lieutenant Governor General Houston.

The Dukes of York and Clarence, Prince Blucher and Count Platoff had arrived at Portsmouth previously to the Prince Regent and his royal guests. The whole body of royal personages remained at Portsmouth through the 24th, 25th, and 26th, during which time the Sovereigns visited and inspected the Dock Yard, the Arsenal, the Fleet then lying at Spithead, and every thing connected with that great naval depôt which possessed any interest; the Prince Regent accompanying them in most of their excursions.

On the 25th, the Prince Regent and all the royal personages honored Lord Egremont with

their presence, at dinner, at Petworth. Here the Prince Regent took leave of his royal guests, and returned to town; whilst the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia proceeded to Dovor, where they arrived on the evening of the 26th; and on the 27th they embarked for the Continent. The Emperor of Russia was moved even to tears at quitting a country and a people amongst whom he had been resident for three weeks, during which time he had experienced from its Sovereign every distinction of honor and hospitality which the most studious attention could bestow, and had received from the people of all classes, the most unceasing and uninterrupted tribute of respect and esteem whenever and wherever he appeared.

On the following day, the Nymphen Frigate, which had taken over the King of Prussia to Calais, was seen making Dovor Harbour, accompanied by the Sloop of War the Rosario, having on board his Grace the Duke of Wellington. As soon as this fact was known, the yards of the different vessels lying in the harbour were manned, a salute was fired from the Fleet and batteries and guns on the heights. The Duke proceeded from the ship to the

shore in the Launch of the Nymphen, and, on his landing, was received by the most enthusiastic cheering by upwards of 5,000 spectators, assembled on the piers and around the harbour.

The Parliamentary business of the year 1815 commenced on the 10th of February, on which day the two Houses met pursuant to adjournment. The subjects which principally occupied the attention of the Commons were the recent proceedings of the Congress of Vienna, and the continuance or giving up of the Property Tax. The propriety of further continuing the restrictions on Cash Payments by the Bank of England, also formed a subject of discussion, in the course of which Mr. Peel frequently took a part in the debate, and displayed that intimate knowledge of the question which, at a subsequent time, led to his being appointed chairman of the committee, which sat to investigate the important subject of the currency generally, and the policy of resuming cash payments in particular.

The early part of the session of 1815 was, however, rendered memorable by the debates which took place on the proposed alterations in the Corn Laws, and the riots to which the discussion on that important subject gave rise.

The resolutions on this subject were brought forward on the 17th of February, by Mr. Robinson, the present Earl of Ripon, and were in substance as follows:—The first resolution permitted the importation and bonding of foreign corn, which corn should be allowed to be taken out of bond without payment of duty whenever the average prices of British grown corn, in the market, should be as follows: viz. Wheat 80*s.* pr. quarter—Rye, Peas and Beans 53*s.*—Barley, Beer or Bigg 40*s.*—Oats 26*s.* This was the substance of the resolutions proposed by Mr. Robinson, which however met with the strongest opposition both within and without the walls of Parliament. The resolutions were supported by Mr. Rose, Mr. Peel, Mr. Western, Mr. Long Wellesley, Mr. Brand, and others; and opposed by Sir William Curtis, Mr. Marryatt, and Mr. Baring; the latter gentleman moving as an amendment, "that foreign corn should be admitted whenever the average price of British wheat reached 75*s.*"

The report upon these important resolutions was ordered to be brought up on the Monday following, but afterwards postponed until the 5th of March. In the interval petitions against the resolutions poured into the House from all

parts of the country, and on the day on which the report was expected to be brought up, the House was, at an early hour, surrounded by thousands of persons, who made a strong demonstration of feeling as the different members, the friends or opponents of the resolutions, passed in their way to the House. The debate, however, commenced, and amendments were proposed by Mr. Barclay and others. In the meantime the mob assembled round the House in increased numbers, and became more clamarous and abusive. From abuse they proceeded to acts of personal violence towards particular individuals; and, at length, it was considered necessary to call out the military, in aid of the civil power. The mob, as mobs usually do, acted without discrimination, and attacked alike friend and foe. Amongst those who suffered on this occasion, were Mr. Croker, Sir W. Garrow, Sir F. Flood, &c. The debate was, however, continued with much acrimony, and, after a long and animated discussion, the resolution for an eighty shilling duty was agreed to on a division, by 208 to 77. A Bill founded on the resolutions was immediately afterwards brought in by Mr. Robinson, and although it met a strong opposition in every stage, it

ultimately passed the third reading by a majority of 168 votes.

Out of doors, however, the opponents of the Bill proceeded to adopt a more active and mischievous opposition than that of mere words. The mob, which in the first instance assembled round the two Houses of Parliament, having been dispersed by the military, proceeded in considerable numbers to the house of Lord Eldon, in Bedford Square. Here they tore up the iron rails, and made their way into the inclosures, broke the windows, and destroyed all the furniture within their reach. Lord and Lady Eldon escaped at the back of the house, and gained the gardens of the British Museum, from whence, at his Lordship's suggestion, a sergeant's guard, which was on duty at the Museum, proceeded to his Lordship's residence. They arrived whilst the mob were yet busily engaged in pursuing the work of destruction; but on the appearance of the military they quickly dispersed.

From Lord Eldon's the mob proceeded to Mr. Robinson's house, in Burlington Street, where they committed various acts of outrage, Mr. Robinson being, as the mover of the

resolutions, peculiarly obnoxious to the rioters. The windows in the front of the house were all quickly demolished. The door was forced, and having made an entry into the house they cut to pieces and destroyed several valuable pictures and pieces of furniture, and threw others into the street. They then proceeded in succession to the residences of Lord Darnley, Lord Hardwicke, and Mr. Yorke, where they committed similar depredations.

On the following day, Tuesday, the 7th of March, the mob assembled in increased numbers, in Palace yard; but the presence of the military kept them so far in check that no act of violence, or expression of feeling, beyond that of hooting or cheering different members in their progress to or from the Houses of Parliament, was exhibited. As the evening advanced, however, parties filed off to various parts of the town in which those members of either House who were known to be favourable to the Bill resided. The houses of the Ministers were especially singled out; that of Lord Castlereagh was favoured with an early visit; but finding that a party of the military had preceded them, and were already in posses-

sion of his Lordship's mansion, they contented themselves with breaking the windows and then withdrew.

Mr. Robinson's house, although by the attack previously made upon it reduced to little better than a ruin, was again assailed; but on a party of military appearing in view, the mob withdrew. Some individuals, however, attracted possibly by curiosity, remained behind, and their imprudence led to a melancholy result; by some fatality they were fired upon by the soldiers, or servants in the house, and the consequences was the death of two innocent persons; a young man named Edward Vyse, a midshipman, a promising youth of nineteen, who receiving several balls in the head, fell and expired instantly; and a young woman named Watson, who was shot in the neck, and died a few days afterwards from the effects of the wound. The mob had in the mean time visited Lord Bathurst's, in Mansfield Street, and Sir Joseph Banks', in Soho Square, at both of which places they forced their way into the houses and destroyed much valuable property, and many scarce books and manuscripts, and other curious specimens of works of art.

Similar outrages to those we have described

were repeated on the evenings of Wednesday and Thursday, the 8th and 9th of March, of which Lord King, Mr. Ponsonby, and others of the principal members of both Houses of Parliament, were the victims. The arrival of large bodies of troops in the metropolis and the suburbs, during Friday, had, however, the effect of putting down the rioters, and fully restoring tranquillity to the metropolis.

In the course of this session also, the usual discussion on the Catholic Question took place. The question was brought forward by Lord Donoughmore, in the House of Lords, by the noble Lord, on the 8th of June, moving, "that the House should resolve itself into a committee, to take into consideration the state of the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, with reference to the laws, by which that class of his Majesty's subjects still continued to be aggrieved." Lord Liverpool, Lord Mulgrave, and Lord Harrowby opposed the motion; the Duke of Sussex and Lord Grenville supported it; and after a few words from Lords Melville and Redesdale against it, the motion was, on a division, negatived by a majority of 86 to 60.

In the Commons the subject was, on the 30th

of May, introduced by Sir H. Parnell, also in a motion for referring their petitions to a committee of the whole House; the motion was supported by Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Knox, Mr. M. Fitzgerald, Mr. Whitbread, and Lord Castlereagh. Mr. Grattan said, "he should oppose unqualified concession: he felt assured, if the Catholics of Ireland failed in obtaining justice on this point, it was to be attributed to want of prudence and discretion on the part of their leaders."

On this occasion Mr. Peel took the lead in opposing the motion. In the course of his address to the House he strongly urged, as an argument against the motion, the want of unanimity amongst the Catholics themselves. "No two persons of any consideration among the Catholics of Great Britain," he said, "were favorable to the petition; he (Mr. Peel) objected to it upon the ground that it prayed for unqualified concession, as a matter of right, not of favour; it required everything without security, and that, at a time, when the Catholics manifested the most inveterate hostility to the Constitution, and were carrying on intrigues at Rome to prevent the Pope making concession. He particularly adverted to the insulting and

menacing language of the leaders of the Catholic Board, from whose speeches, he contended, it was evident that there was no prospect of a final and conciliatory adjustment." The motion for a committee was then negatived, on a division, the numbers being, for the motion 147; against it 228. Majority 81 against the motion.

On the 26th of April, 1816, Sir John Newport brought forward a motion in the House of Commons relative to the state of Ireland. In the course of his preliminary observations, the Right Honorable Baronet entered into a historical review of those errors of the Government which, he contended, had brought Ireland into that state of wretchedness and insubordination into which she had fallen. He commenced with the period of James I. to which the luminous work of Sir John Davies affords an excellent guide. From the work in question Sir John made the following quotation, and upon it appeared to base his plan for ameliorating the state of the country. "There is no nation under the sun," says Sir John Davies, "that doth love equal and impartial justice better than the Irish, or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be

against themselves, so as they may have the protection and benefit of the law, when upon just cause they do desire it." The Right Honorable Baronet concluded an able and animating speech by observing—"We are now arrived at a season of profound tranquillity; and, if the House shall decide that no attempt be made to trace to their source those evils which afflict Ireland and endanger the empire, it will be my duty to bow to their decision; but I shall then deeply deplore the day which connected Ireland with this country by legislative union." He then moved the following address to the Prince Regent.

"That a humble address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, humbly to represent that the necessity of providing an army of 25,000, men in time of profound peace, to secure the internal tranquillity of Ireland, obliges us to consider the state of that great, valuable, and interesting portion of the United Kingdom, as most distressing and afflicting to the legislature, and dangerous in an extreme degree to the well being of the empire; that we feel ourselves imperiously called upon, by a sense of public duty, to direct to the consideration of this important subject, our earnest

and undivided attention. That we therefore pray, his Royal Highness may be pleased to order, that there be laid before us, with convenient speed, such documents as may put us fully in possession of the extent and nature of the evils which demand the temporary application of this great military force, and may enable us to proceed with active and unceasing energy to their complete investigation. That we have armed the executive government with all the means requisite to suppress tumult, and punish outrage; and we would now apply all our powers to a deliberate examination of the existing evils, and the causes from whence they originate, as the surest foundation for affording to his Royal Highness the cordial and active concurrence of this House, in such measures as shall be proposed for their effectual removal; and for adopting such other wholesome and efficacious remedies, formed in the spirit of British constitutional legislation, as may appear to our dispassionate judgments, most adequate to effect the extirpation of those evils with which Ireland is afflicted, and to rescue that fair portion of the Empire from its present depression and disorganization."

On the motion being put, Mr. Peel rose

to defend the measures of the Government, and to explain the course of policy adopted by them, and, with which, he was so intimately connected. He acknowledged the tone of moderation which the Right Hon. Baronet had observed, in bringing forward this question, and felt much satisfaction in declaring his concurrence in many parts of the address which had been proposed; but he thought it would be acting with precipitancy, to pledge the House to a general enquiry, without explaining the kind of enquiry which it was intended to institute, and how it was to be conducted. Before following the details into which the Right Hon. Baronet had entered, he supposed it was expected that he should furnish to the House a statement of the present condition of Ireland. Generally speaking the North of Ireland was tranquil; no disturbance prevailed there, beyond what arose from illicit distillation, and the consequent opposition to the revenue laws in certain districts. The extreme West, and the Counties of Mayo, Galway, and Carlow, were comparatively tranquil; and the same might be said of the South, of Cork, Wexford, &c. The East was, likewise, so far tranquil, that no application to Government

for extraordinary police had been made from those counties. The counties in which disturbances actually prevailed were Tipperary, King's County, Westmeath, and Limerick. The Magistrates of King's County had requested the application of the Insurrection Act; but had since petitioned for its removal, asserting that tranquillity was perfectly restored. In Westmeath and Limerick, considerable improvement had taken place, but the Insurrection Act was still in force. The Magistrates of Louth and Cavan, had petitioned the Government, not for the application of the Insurrection Act, but of the extraordinary Police Act. This was the general state of the country; but nothing could be more difficult than to give a description of the precise nature of the disturbances, which were now agitating it, or their character. Formerly tumults and outrages might be traced to particular causes; but those which now prevailed seemed to be the effect of a general confederacy in crime; a systematic opposition to all laws and municipal institutions." Mr. Peel here entered into a detail of facts and outrages, in support of his assertion, and concluded by moving the following amendment.

"That a humble address be presented to his Royal Highness, the Prince Regent; expressing our deep regret that the internal state of Ireland, in time of peace, renders it necessary to maintain a large military force in that country for the present year, for the purpose of assisting in the execution of the law, and in the preservation of public tranquillity; and entreating that His Royal Highness will be graciously pleased to direct that there be laid before this House, a statement of the nature and extent of the disturbances which have recently prevailed in Ireland, and the measures which have been adopted by the Government of that country in consequence thereof."

The amendment gave rise to a long and animated debate, in which the original motion was supported by Mr. Plunkett, Mr. Grattan, and Mr. Ponsonby; and the amendment by Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald and Lord Castlereagh. The debate terminated in a division, when the numbers were, for the Amended Address 187; for the original motion 103. Majority in favour of Mr. Peel's amendment 84.

On the 30th of May, in the same year, Sir Henry Parnell presented a petition from the

Bishops and Clergy, professing the Roman Catholic religion, in Ireland, which he said was signed by twenty-three Prelates, and one thousand and fifty-two Priests. The Right Hon. Baronet gave notice, that he should, on that day se'night, submit a motion for the House resolving itself into a committee, to take the petition into consideration.

A doubt was subsequently raised whether the petition could be received, in as much as it professed to be from persons who called themselves *the Bishops* and not *the titular Bishops* of Ireland, which was contrary to an Irish act, prohibiting all Popish ecclesiastics from assuming any ecclesiastical title within the realm. It was, however, affirmed, that the act alluded to, had been repealed by a more recent statute, and a speech of the celebrated Bishop Horsley was quoted, in which that reverend and highly learned prelate, referring in debate to the Roman Catholic prelacy of Ireland, observed, " my Lords, they are as much Bishops as any of my reverend friends who now sit on this bench." It was further observed, that the petitioners in their signatures had not distinguished themselves by any particular see, but merely by their christian and surnames. The

petition was ultimately read, and ordered to lie on the table; and, on the day named, the 6th of June, Sir Henry Parnell rose to propose certain resolutions founded on the petition.

Mr. Peel desired that the standing order might be read, by which it was declared, that no Bill, which went to make an alteration in the religion of the country, should be discussed in that House until the proposition had first been considered by a committee, or agreed to by the House.

The order having been read, the Speaker said, that in matters of this nature, it was the practice to begin with a committee of the whole House; but, at the same time, he did not know that any member was precluded from moving abstract resolutions.

After some further conversation on the subject, Lord Castlereagh spoke warmly respecting the injury which the Honorable Baronet, Sir H. Parnell, was doing to the cause by the course he was taking; and put it to himself to say, if many friends to the question had not withdrawn themselves on this occasion. He (Lord Castlereagh) could not give the Honorable Baronet his support to the present motion, and he trusted the honorable mover would not persevere in it.

Sir H. Parnell, after some observations in justification of the course he had taken, on the grounds of public duty, consented, though reluctantly, to withdraw his resolutions. This decision closed the proceedings in the Commons on the Catholic Question for the session, and on the 2nd of July the session terminated by prorogation, the Prince Regent going down to the House on the occasion, and delivering the speech in person.

Mr. Peel, as has been already observed, was at this period the recognized leader of the Anti-Catholic party in the House of Commons, and as such received, at the general election in 1817, the highest mark of of confidence which the high church party could bestow upon him, in being elected one of the representatives for the University of Oxford. In the discussions which took place during the session of 1817, on the presentation of the annual petitions from Ireland and on the motions occasionally introduced by Sir Henry Parnell and Sir John Newport relative to the Catholic claims, the Right Honorable member for the University led the opposition to the prayed-for emancipation with increased confidence and with his accustomed ability, although, from the statement of the divisions which occurred, it was evident

that the party which favoured concession to the Catholics was gradually increasing in strength.

In Mr. Peel's administration of Irish affairs, Orange principles still predominated, and in all his measures there was a decided bearing in favor of the Orange association, whose proceedings, where most censured by its opponents, were invariably defended by the Chief Secretary, as the overflowings of loyal feelings. The system of rigorous government, previously established in Ireland, was therefore necessarily kept up and continued; and the country, throughout the whole course of his administration, was subjected to a continued series of insurrection acts. Notwithstanding these objectionable points of policy, however, Mr. Peel's administration was, on the whole, one of great benefit to Ireland. Naturally inclined to moderate measures, though bound by circumstances, over which he had no control, to pursue a certain line of policy, his good sense and the liberality of his sentiments combined to induce him to carry out the measures of the Government with as little coercion, and as great a degree of moderation, as was practicable. His sentiments, as expressed and carried out by him, with regard to the system of national education in Ireland, will always be recollected by the

Irish people with gratitude. Another of his measures, namely, the organization of the very efficient system of Police, which originated with, and is still popularly denominated after him, has conferred incalculable benefits on society in Ireland, and well entitle him to claim the gratitude of the Irish people. Beyond what is here noticed, Mr. Peel did not take any prominent part in the business of the session of 1817.

On the 27th of January, 1818, the session was opened in due form; the speech was delivered by commission, the state of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's health not permitting him to go down to the House to open Parliament in person. The first two months of the session passed over; no subject being brought forward which called on Mr. Peel to take any part in the discussions which occurred until the 2nd of March; when, on the Army Estimates being proposed by Lord Palmerston, Mr. Peel took an opportunity of entering into a detailed review of the existing state of Ireland. "Up to the time in which he was speaking it would have been injudicious, and even dangerous, to have attempted any reduction in the military establishment of that country. He had now, however, to congratulate the House,

on the improved state of that portion of the empire, in which the supremacy of the law had been so far re-established, as to admit of a considerable reduction being now made in the amount of military force kept up there for some time past ; measures had accordingly been adopted for making considerable alterations both in the regular army and yeomanry force of Ireland."

On the 21st of April, Mr. Robert Shaw, the member for Dublin, presented a petition from the inhabitant householders of that city praying for a repeal of the Window Tax. "This tax," he said, "was always obnoxious to the citizens of Dublin in a peculiar degree, for several reasons, especially for its very unequal pressure; for the inquisitorial nature of its levy, and the ruinous consequences which resulted to the health of the city from its operations ; and further, it had now become more obnoxious than ever to them, from their utter inability to pay it, in consequence of the general depression of trade, and the universal distress which prevailed. The tax originated with the last Parliament which sat in Ireland, and, as it was intended for a war tax was imposed for three years only. In its origin it was a most un-

popular impost not only on account of its oppressive properties, but also for its arbitrary enactments; one of which gave a power to the collectors to demand entrance into every room, in every house in Ireland, from eight o'clock in the morning till sunset, under a penalty of £20 for refusal. Another serious objection to the tax was, the effect it had upon the health of the City of Dublin, by increasing the danger of infection; as had been proved during the prevalence of the fever in the preceding year; as had been established by the opinion of the most eminent of the faculty in Ireland, who all agreed that the disease had, on that occasion, been greatly increased, and its horrors aggravated by the want of proper ventilation in the houses of the middling and lower classes, an evil originating in this impolitic, unpopular and oppressive tax." Mr. Shaw concluded by moving for "the appointment of a committee to consider the expediency of repealing the tax upon Windows and Hearths in Ireland." The motion was seconded by Mr. Plunkett, who contended, "that the Irish Parliament would never have consented to the imposition of this most obnoxious and cruel tax, had it not been for the repeated assurances of the Chancellor of the Ex-

chequer, Mr. Corry, and the solemn pledge of the Government of the day, that the tax should be considered as a war tax only, and should therefore expire with the termination of the war.

Mr. Peel, in reply to the motion, observed, "that fully aware of the deep interest which was felt on this subject, not only by the citizens of Dublin, but by the Irish people generally, it was with extreme regret he felt himself compelled, by a sense of duty, to oppose the motion of the honorable member for Dublin. The motion of the honorable gentleman rested on two grounds: first, the pledge which was asserted to have been given by the government at the time the tax was imposed, that it should bea war tax only, and therefore should have ceased immediately on the restoration of peace; and secondly, that the oppressive nature of the tax itself, which bore so unequally upon the community, called imperatively for its repeal. If it could be shewn that Parliament was pledged to the repeal of the tax at the conclusion of the war, there was very little discretion left but to repeal it; but he denied that such a pledge had ever been given; the assertion that such was the fact rested wholly on a fallacy. Though when first proposed in Ireland

it might have been considered as a war tax, yet having been from time to time enacted, and at length pledged as a security for certain charges on the consolidated fund, it had lost that character; and, in fact, could not be repealed without injustice to the public creditor. It would, indeed, be a most dangerous policy, if to confer a boon on any body of people, the legislature were to depart from those great principles which form the basis of public credit.

"The tax was first proposed in 1799, by Mr. Corry, and in 1800, two acts were passed relating to it; one for continuing it, the other for regulating its collection. This," Mr. Peel contended, "was a complete and direct answer to the argument relative to the pledge. Indeed so far was the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer of that day from considering the tax as a war tax, that at the time of the peace of Amiens he made no proposition for its repeal: and, in 1803, when he re-proposed the tax, he pointedly denied that he had given any such pledge as that alluded to; and at that time, the tax having been pledged for a part of the debt, they could not, on any principle of good faith, have entertained such a proposition. If, indeed,

it could be proved that Ireland brought more than her regular proportion to the consolidated fund of the United Kingdom, it would be a reason for entering into a minute consideration of the subject. But this was not the case. The expenditure of Ireland at the consolidation of the two treasuries was £6,500,000; her revenue was short of £4,500,000, leaving a deficiency of full £2,000,000 to be raised by loan, or otherwise, of which England had to bear a large portion; and as security for which the public revenue was pledged. If any other tax could be proposed or pointed out which would supply the place of that now sought to be repealed, and which would, at the same time, press less heavily on the people of Ireland, there would be no breach of public faith with the public creditor, and it would be their duty to adopt it: but the question then arose, where, and in what manner, could such a tax be imposed. With respect to the other part of the honorable gentleman's argument, namely, that the effect of the Window Tax was calculated to effect not only the comfort of the Irish, in a pecuniary point of view, but that it had also contributed in a great degree to the rise and progress of contagious fever in Dublin and

other populous cities and towns in Ireland. Having himself, from the official situation he had the honor to hold, had the best opportunity of gaining information connected with that subject, and forming an opinion upon it; he had no hesitation in asserting that the Window Tax did not, in its operation, at all tend to increase or to aggravate the ravages of the fever, either in Dublin or any other part of Ireland."

After a debate of some length, in which most of the Irish members took a part, Mr. Shaw's motion was lost on a division, the numbers being, for the motion 51; against the motion 67.

Soon after this discussion, Mr. Peel resigned the Irish Secretaryship and retired from office altogether, apparently with the intention of taking a more general part in politics, as an independent member of the House of Commons. At the general election which took place this year, he was re-elected for the University of Oxford.

The 14th of January, 1819, was the day appointed for the assembling of the new Parliament, being the sixth parliament of the United Kingdom. The Lord Chancellor being unavoidably absent, the Lord Chief Baron, Sir Richard Richards, was appointed by the Prince Regent

to preside in Lord Eldon's absence; the Lord President of the Council, Lord Harrowby, being joined in the Commission. A number of the members of the new House of Commons having been introduced at the bar of the Lords, were informed, by the Lord President, that it not being convenient for the Prince Regent to attend in person to open Parliament, he had been graciously pleased to direct, that a commission should issue under the Great Seal, authorising the Lords and Commons to open the Parliament. After this form had been complied with, the Commons withdrew, and the Houses were adjourned during pleasure.

The choice of a Speaker was the first business entered upon by the Commons. On this occasion the important task of proposing a proper person to preside over their deliberations devolved on Mr. Peel; who, in a speech highly complimentary to the Right Honorable Gentleman, proposed the Right Honorable Charles Manners Sutton, who had so ably filled the Chair during the preceding Parliament, for re-election to the same distinguished post. The motion was seconded by Lord Clive, and agreed to. The Right Honorable gentle-

man was conducted to the chair by the Right Honorable mover and Noble seconder, and took his seat amidst unanimous cheers from all parts of the House.

On the 21st of January, the parliament was opened by a speech delivered by commission. The early period of the session was more than usually interesting, the business being of a much more important character than that generally discussed before Easter. The recent death of the Queen had rendered new and important arrangements connected with the care of his Majesty's person indispensably necessary; and, on the 25th of January, the Earl of Liverpool introduced a Bill into the Lords, having for its object, to place the custody of the Royal Person in the care of the Duke of York, subject to the assistance of a Council. The Bill, after some opposition from Lord Holland, passed the Lords and was sent to the Commons, where it met a more strenuous opposition, more especially that clause by which it was provided that the same allowance as had been made to her late Majesty, as having the custody of his Majesty's person—namely, £10,000 per annum, should be continued to his Royal Highness.

This clause was, however, defended by Mr. Tierney, and the Bill ultimately passed by a large majority.

On the 4th of February, a message, was brought down from the Prince Regent to the House of Commons, by Lord Castlereagh, apprising the House, that "the sum of £58,000 per annum, which had been appropriated to the maintenance of the establishment, and to the support of the honor and dignity of her late Majesty, having become disposable by his Royal Highness for the general purposes of the Civil List, the Prince Regent places this sum at the disposal of Parliament. He thinks it, at the same time, incumbent, on him to state, that there exists certain claims upon a part of this saving, which he recommends to the justice and liberality of the House of Commons, they being founded on the faithful services of the persons who form the separate establishment of her late Majesty, and are limited to these services.

"The Prince Regent is satisfied that he may confidently rely on the loyal attachment of the House of Commons to enable him, upon the reduction of that establishment, to grant, to the several individuals belonging to it, such

allowances as it has been usual for the Crown to bestow on former occasions, when the royal family has been visited with a similar affliction."

When his Royal Highness's message was taken into consideration by the House of Commons, and the arrangements relative to the pensions to her late Majesty's servants, had been disposed of, the question of his Majesty's future establishment came under discussion. When that part of the measure which related to the *custos personæ*, came to be considered, Mr. Tierney contended, "that the salary of the custos of the person ought not, in justice, to be charged upon the public; but should be taken out of the sum set apart for his Majesty's privy purse."

In reply to this argument, Lord Castlereagh contended, most strenuously, that the privy purse was a private fund, which ought not to be touched at all. It was a fund with which Parliament could not interfere, unless they were disposed to overleap all the bounds of law and equity. The noble Lord said, "he should omit a principle part of his duty, if he did not state to the House, what was the situation of the Royal Duke. On this subject he was

authorized to state, with his Royal Highness's permission, that no consideration would induce him to accept of any sum to be paid out of the privy purse of his Majesty. He (the Duke) would, in any event, be happy to discharge the duties which his situation rendered necessary towards his Royal father and to the country; but as to taking any of the private property of his father, he desired that it should be stated, that it was a measure to which, either directly or indirectly, he never would consent." In reply to Lord Castlereagh's argument, Mr. Tierney observed, "with respect to the great question, namely, out of what fund the guardian of the King's person was to be paid? They were told by the noble Lord, in tones of eloquent declamation, that if he, Mr. Tierney succeeded in inducing the committee to agree to his proposition, he would heap infamy on the new House of Commons. But with deference to the opinion of the Minister, he thought that any sum which Parliament might choose to offer out of any fund for the performance of a public duty, the proudest Royal Duke might be proud to receive. The argument of the noble Lord was, that the Privy Purse was private property; the construction

of different Acts of Parliament and recent practice would show that the Noble Lord's argument was erroneous. The committee would see how the Privy Purse was regarded by the Acts of the 51st and 52nd of the King. Those acts recited that "whereas it was expedient to defray the charge of medical advice and aid, and whereas it was reasonable that those expences should be paid out of the Privy Purse." Now he would ask, how any gentlemen could say that it was reasonable to burden the Privy Purse for one purpose connected with the care of his Majesty's person, and infamous to burden it for another and similar purpose." He concluded, by moving an amendment in substance—"That any surplus arising out of the revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster, and the sum of £60,000 a year, granted to the Throne as a privy purse, should, after the payment of the sums already charged thereon, be applied to defray the expence attending the care of his Majesty's royal person."

Mr. Peel, on this occasion, replied to Mr. Tierney. He complimented the Right Hon. gentleman on the talent and ingenuity displayed by him, in his arguments, in despite of which, however, he, (Mr. Peel) still retained the

opinions with which he came down to the House that evening—namely, that the Privy Purse could not, with propriety, be applied to defray the expenses of the *custos* of the King's person. The Right Honorable gentleman had truly said that for the purpose of his argument it was necessary to define what was called the Privy Purse; but, in attempting to define it, he had fallen into errors either of commission or omission innumerable. He could easily shew to the House that the Right Honorable gentleman's statement abounded in misrepresentations of facts. Originally, Mr. Peel observed, the Privy Purse was a part of the Civil List, and at the commencement of the reign of George III. no character of sanctity was attached to it. But in the exact proportion in which Parliament interfered with the other parts of the Civil List, they had recognized the Privy Purse as the property of the Sovereign. It had been first so recognized in the proceedings of 1780, of which Mr. Burke was the mover. Secondly, in the Bill founded upon that proceeding which was brought into the House in 1782, but not carried into a law: and again, in the Act which passed in 1786, embodying and enacting all the system framed by Mr. Burke. In all these

cases the whole of the Civil List was brought under the control of Parliament, except the Privy Purse, which was specially exempted from that control; and in the last case, which gave to all these proceedings the form of law, the amount of the Privy Purse was specifically stated, as at present, at £60,000. Next there was the Regency Bill of 1788, which secured the Privy Purse, its profits and savings to the King; and again, by the act passed in 1799, the King's power of bequeathing those savings as private property was distinctly recognized. Another instance he would allude to, was the Act of 1811, which set apart the Privy Purse as the indubitable property of the Crown, as it had been set apart in the Regency Bill of 1788. And lastly, to set the question completely at rest, he would refer the committee to the Act of 1812, on this subject, in which the Privy Purse had again been considered as the absolute, undisputed property of the Sovereign—a property over which he possessed a right of disposition, wholly free from Parliamentary control. This last Act, Mr. Peel contended, set the question completely at rest."

The House ultimately divided upon Mr. Tierney's amendment, which was negatived by a majority of 281 to 186.

On the 25th of February, on the report of the committee being brought up, Lord Castlereagh moved "that the annual sum of £10,000 be issued out of the Civil List Revenues to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, to enable his Royal Highness to meet the expenses to which he might be exposed in discharging the important duties confided to him by Parliament when appointing him Custos of his Majesty's person." The motion was again opposed by Mr. Tierney, and supported by Mr. Peel, and after some further debate carried, on a division, by a larger majority than before—the numbers being, for Lord Castlereagh's motion 247; against it 137.

During the session of 1819, and whilst the question of the Privy Purse was, as we have seen, under discussion, the attention of the House and of the public was called to another, and, as regarded the country generally, a subject of still greater importance; we allude to the state of our moneytary system, and the continued suspension of cash payments by the Bank of England. This question had for some time past occupied a very considerable portion of attention, and greatly agitated the public mind. From time to time Ministers had pro-

mised that cash payments should be resumed at certain fixed periods, and from time to time the hopes of the country had been disappointed by renewed restrictions, which had now continued for more than twenty-one years. The preamble to the last Bill passed, to continue the restrictions, stated that various unforeseen circumstances rendered the continuance of the restrictions necessary; and the Bill being near expiring, the public had, within the last few days previous to the time of which we are writing, been told that various other unforeseen circumstances would make it expedient that the issue of specie should be again postponed until the 20th of March 1820.

The general dissatisfaction expressed by the public at this announcement was such, however, as to convince Ministers of the necessity which existed for their entering more fully than they had contemplated into the subject. Had such not been their intention they would have been forced into the adoption of that course; for on the 2nd of February, Mr. Tierney brought forward a motion in the House of Commons for "the appointment of a committee to enquire into the effects produced on the exchanges with foreign countries, and the state of the circulating medium by the restriction on pay-

ments in cash by the Bank of England, and to report whether any, and what reasons exist for continuing the same beyond the period fixed by law for its termination." After going at considerable length, and with his usual ability, into a review of the subject, the Right Honorable gentleman said, "it might be a question, what sort of committee would be most eligible for the purpose he had in view—ought it to be a select, or a secret committee? He would fairly state that he should feel very little anxiety on the subject, were it not for the circumstance, that the secret committee was chosen by ballot. His own motion had for its object, to institute a general enquiry; but if the Right Honorable gentleman wished that the affairs of the Bank also should be investigated, he had no objection whatever to the appointment of a secret committee for that purpose. He should, however, conclude by submitting a motion in the same words in which his notice of motion had been given."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer on this occasion, replied to the arguments of Mr. Tierney, and observed, "that as the Bank desired a general enquiry into the question, rather than an extension of the restrictions for so short a period as that which he had proposed, the

Government were disposed to comply with the wish of the Bank directors. It was clear, however, that a committee appointed for such extensive and delicate purposes ought to be secret; and further, he could assure the Right Honorable gentleman, it was his wish that the committee should be appointed by ballot. The Right Honorable gentleman then moved, as an amendment, the following resolution. "That a secret committee be appointed, to consider of the state of the Bank of England, with reference of the expediency of the resumption of cash payments at the period fixed by law, and into such other matters as are connected therewith, and to report to the House such information relative thereto, as may be disclosed, without injury to the public interest, with their observations, instead thereof."

After some discussion, in which Mr. Peel took a part, in support of the amendment, the question was put, and the amendment carried: the numbers being, 277 for the amendment, and 168 for the original motion—majority 109.

On the 3rd of February, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved the order of the day for the House to proceed to ballot for a committee of secrecy, to enquire into the state of the Bank of England, with reference of the ex-

pediency of the resumption of cash payments. The House accordingly proceeded to the ballot, and in the course of the evening Mr. Brogden reported the names of the secret committee as follows:—Lord Castlereagh, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Peel, Mr. Canning, Mr. Wellesley Pole, Mr. Lamb, Mr. F. Robinson, Mr. Grenfell, Mr. Huskisson, Mr. James Abercrombie, Mr. Bankes, Sir James Mackintosh, Sir John Nicholl, Mr. Littleton, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Stuart Wortley, Mr. Manning, Mr. Frankland Lewis, Mr. Ashurst, Sir John Newport.

The committee commenced its proceedings by electing Mr. Peel its chairman, an honorable distinction well bestowed, when it is considered, that no member of the House had devoted more time to the consideration of this important subject than Mr. Peel had done; few indeed, if any one more thoroughly understood its merits, and various bearings on the commercial and general classes of the community; or from his own, and his family's large stake in the country, can be supposed to have been more interested in coming to a right conclusion.

The committee thus constituted, proceeded with closed doors to enquire into the subject, and on the 5th of April, they presented, through

their chairman, their first report to the House, in the following form :—

"The committee of secrecy, appointed to consider the state of the Bank of England, with reference to the expediency of the resumption of cash payments, at the period fixed by law, and into such other matters as are connected therewith; and to report to the House such information relative thereto as may be disclosed without injury to the public interests, with their observations thereupon, are engaged in deliberating upon their report, which they hope to present to the House on an early day after the approaching recess. The committee having a confident expectation that, in that report, they shall be enabled to fix a period, and recommend a plan for the final removal of the present restriction on the Bank, think it their duty to submit to the House that the execution of any such plan would, in their opinion, be materially obstructed and delayed by a continuance of the drain upon the treasure of the Bank on account of the engagement of the Bank to pay in cash all its notes outstanding of an earlier date than January 1st, 1817, and on account of the payment in cash of fractional sums under £5. That the committee, therefore,

think it their duty to suggest to the House the expediency of passing forthwith a Bill, restraining all such payments in gold coin, until the report of the committee shall have been received and considered by the House, and a legislative measure passed thereupon."

The report having been received, Mr. Peel, rose and moved "for leave to bring in a Bill founded on the report which had just been read and received. Its object, he said, would be to restrain the issue of sovereigns for fractional payments under £5, in consequence of notices issued in 1816-17. In consequence of these notices the treasure of the Bank had sustained a very considerable drain. Accounts had been presented to the House of the issue of sovereigns between the 1st of January 1816 and the 1st of January 1819, in which time it appeared that 4,500,000 had been issued from the Bank; £700,000 had afterwards been issued, so that the whole sum amounted to £5,200,000 of treasure, which had been withdrawn from the bank. The object of his Bill would be to restrain, till the expiration of the present session of Parliament, issues of cash such as he had described. The delay would enable the House to consider the subject, and to adopt the

measures which the committee might hereafter suggest. The reasons for recommending this course lay within a small compass. Whenever the time came for removing the restrictions, a large sum in cash would be necessary—a sum, indeed, much exceeding what the Bank had then in its possession. This diminution of its treasure, arising from the causes to which he had alluded, would make the Bank less able to return to cash payments, and would, therefore, tend to postpone the period to be fixed for the termination of the restriction. It was for these reasons, and in the fullest confidence that it would hasten the period of the resumption of cash payments, that he should propose the measure. He was also equally confident that the restoration of a standard of value in this country, as unvariable as the nature of things admitted of, would not be accompanied by those inconveniences which some persons apprehended."

Mr. Peel concluded by moving for "leave to bring in a Bill to restrain the Governor and company of the Bank of England from making payments in cash under certain notices given by them for that purpose." He added that, as it was of the highest importance that the measure should pass as expeditiously as possible, he

hoped the house would allow it to go through its several stages that evening.

Mr. Brougham, Mr. Tierney, Lord A. Hamilton, and other members, objected to the measure, on the ground that they were asked to pass this important bill not on the responsibility of Ministers, not on any explained principle, but on the mere assertion of an individual; the chairman of the committee, indeed, but still only a private individual member of the House. In reply to these observations, Mr. Peel said, "when the proper time arrived to enter upon the details of the subject, he should be prepared to shew that there was no inconsistency whatever between the principle of this bill and the principle which had governed the other arrangements adopted on this subject. He had only to regret that the measure had not been introduced earlier. The fact was, that hopes had been entertained in the preceding session that the state of the exchanges might have come round, and thus have obviated the difficulties now apprehended. The motion for bringing in the bill was then put, and agreed to; the bill was brought in, read a first and second time; passed through a committee, and was finally

read a third time, and sent to the Lords; by whom it was passed in the same rapid manner; and received the Royal assent by commission immediately afterwards.

On the 6th of May, Mr. Peel presented to the House of Commons the second report of the secret committee; and, on doing so, entered into an elaborate detail of the proceedings of the committee. The Right Honorable gentleman observed "the attention of the committee had been directed especially to the enquiry into the existing state of the Bank, with a view to ascertaining alike the capability and the expediency of that establishment resuming cash payments at the period at which by the law, as it then stood, they were bound to do so. On this head the committee had commenced its labours, by ascertaining that the sums which the Bank was liable to be called on to pay, in fulfilment of their engagements, would, it appeared, amount, on the thirtieth of January, to £33,894,380. The Bank it appeared possessed government securities, and other credits to the amount of £39,096,900, leaving a surplus in favour of the Bank of £5,202,320 exclusive of the permanent debt due from Government to the Bank of

£14,686,800, repayable on the expiration of the charter; after ascertaining this fact, the committee proceeded to inform itself of the amount of cash and bullion in the coffers of the Bank at various times since 1797, the period at which the restrictions were imposed, to the time this enquiry was instituted; or rather to the 1st of January 1817, at which period a partial resumption of cash payments had been resorted to; and the 1st of January 1819, when it was found that the issues of cash in the two years last named, had amounted to £6,756,000. The next subject of consideration with the committee, was the amount of the debt due by the public to the Bank, which on the 26th of April 1819 had reached the sum of £19,438,900. Mr. Peel here entered into a variety of statements and details of evidence connected with this part of the subject, he observed, that the amount of their advances to the public was urged by the Bank as one of the main impediments to their early resumption of cash payments; and that in order to make preparations for that resumption, the Bank required a erpayment of £10,000,000. For such repayment the committee earnestly recommended it to the House to make immediate

provision, and also to establish some permanent measure limiting and defining the authority of the Bank to make advances to the Government, or to purchase Government securities; and bringing under the constant inspection of Parliament, the extent to which that authority may be in future exercised. These subjects formed the first head of enquiry into which the committee had entered. The second branch of investigation had for its object to ascertain the expediency of returning to cash payments at the period fixed by law. Upon that point the committee had received a large mass of evidence, from which it appeared, that the Bank had already considerably reduced its issues of notes subsequently to the beginning of the year 1818; and further, that in order to secure themselves against the effects of a return to cash payments in the approaching July, it would be necessary for them to make a further, and very sudden reduction of that portion of their currency which they had immediately within their own controul, although such reduction in the existing state of the trade of the country would undoubtedly be attended with very serious inconvenience to the public. Upon this ground, which was fully established by the best infor-

mation which could be gained on the subject, the committee, Mr. Peel said, strongly recommended the further postponement of the resumption of payments in specie for a time to be limited.

"Another and a very important branch of the enquiry, and one which had occupied the serious consideration of the committee, was, the ascertaining as far as could be done, the supply of gold, which would probably be required to meet the demands upon the Bank, on the resumption of payments in specie; and the practicability of commanding such a supply as would be necessary. The evidence on this head embraced a variety of facts, relative to the investment of British capital in Foreign funds, the rates of exchange, and the effects likely to be produced on such rates, by the proposed resumption. On the whole, Mr. Peel observed, it was to be inferred, that Great Britain had the power of commanding a metallic currency; but that the return to it ought to be gradual, and the committee strongly recommended to their attention, the following outline of a plan for the purpose. "That after the 1st of May, 1821, the Bank should be liable to deliver a quantity of gold, not less than sixty

ounces, of standard fineness, to be first essayed and stamped at his Majesty's Mint, at the establishment price of £3 17 10½ per ounce, in exchange for such an amount of notes, presented to them, as shall represent at that rate, the value of gold demanded. That this liability of the Bank to deliver gold in exchange for their notes shall continue for not less than two, nor more than four years, from the 1st of May 1821; and that, at the end of that period, cash payments should be resumed. That on a day to be fixed by Parliament, not later than the 1st of February, 1820, the Bank should be required to deliver gold, of standard fineness, essayed and stamped as before mentioned, in exchange for their notes (an amount of not less than sixty ounces of gold being demanded) at £4 1*s.* per ounce—that being nearly the market price of standard gold in bars, on an average of the preceding three months." These were the suggestions of the secret committee. They were embodied in a report which Mr. Peel now moved should be read. This motion was adopted. The report was then received and referred to a committee of the whole House, by which it was sanctioned, and the report was then taken as the foundation of two

Bills, which were ultimately prepared and brought in by Mr. Peel, and after being warmly discussed in both Houses, passed, and soon afterwards received the Royal assent.

Thus was adopted by the legislature, the first step towards the important measure, the resumption of cash payments, after a suspension of twenty years, and a return to a healthful state as regarded our circulating medium. Though Mr. Peel could not be strictly considered as the originator of this measure, it must be acknowledged that, much indeed is due to his perseverance, and able co-operation in bringing it about; and it redounds much to his honor, as a public man, and adds greatly to the claim which he has upon the country; that, he has subsequently stood steadfastly by it, and been occasionally in opposition to the most influential portion of his friends and party, the firm supporter of public credit and public faith.

The situation of the country at the commencement of the year 1820 was much more tranquil than the popular agitation, which exhibited itself throughout the manufacturing districts during the latter months of 1819, had given any one who was a watchful observer of public events reason to expect. This change

was to be imputed in part to the measures pursued by the Government, and in part to the natural course of events. The six Bills which were passed towards the end of 1819, and of which Mr. Peel was a firm supporter, guarded against Acts which were injurious to the State and inconsistent with the duty of good citizens, but restrained no one from doing that which was in itself either praiseworthy or innocent. It is true that our merchants and manufacturers still complained, and that their complaints were not wholly without foundation. The capitals of a great number of them had, by the measures adopted by the finance committee, and to which we have alluded, been diminished in nominal value, and the general rate of profit had fallen considerably; still, in consequence of the partial revival of commerce which took place at this time, our manufacturing population found it more easy to obtain employment than in the preceding years, and received a more liberal remuneration for their labour: at the same time the price of grain sustained a considerable diminution. The average price of wheat, which in 1819 had been generally above 72*s.* per quarter, and often approached to 80*s.*, fluctuated during the first half of the present

year between 60*s.* and 70*s.* per quarter; animal food and the other productions of agricultural industry, participated in this fall: the situation of the labourer was, therefore, doubly improved; he earned more money, whilst the same amount of earnings would have given him a greater command of the necessaries of life.

But although the general state of the country was thus improving, the commencement of the year 1820 was marked by events which spread a gloom over all ranks of the people. The Duke of Kent, who had accompanied his wife and child, her present Majesty then an infant, to Sidmouth, in Devonshire; by an injudicious exposure of himself to wet and cold, during a shooting excursion, brought on a cold accompanied by feverish symptoms. Trusting to the goodness of his constitution, however, he neglected to adopt the precautions recommended by his physician; and on the following morning, the 14th of January, the inflammatory symptoms were found to have increased rapidly; his Royal Highness's complaint proved to be an inflammation of the lungs; recourse was now had to copious bleeding, and other remedies, but in vain; the disease continued to gain ground, and the Prince, after experiencing

severe sufferings, expired on the 23rd of January, ten days only from the time of his being first taken, leaving his Duchess and his daughter, then only eight months old; and to them, by a will dated the day before his death, he left all his property.

His Royal Highness was, at the time of his death, in his fifty-third year. The rigorous discipline which, at an early period of his life, he enforced in his military capacity, rendered him at one time very unpopular; but this feeling had, in consequence of his amiable conduct in all the civil relations of life, long passed away. A munificent patron of the arts, and an active supporter of every scheme of public and private charity: it was chiefly and almost solely on occasions, interesting to humanity, that he could be prevailed on to quit the habitual privacy of his life, and to present himself to the associations of his countrymen. He took little share in the political transactions of the times in which he lived. His sentiments in politics were liberal, but temperate; inclining more to the side of opposition, than to that of the ministers; but on no occasion were they manifested with violence, or in a manner unbecoming his princely station, or did they

ever operate to embroil him with those members of his family and near relatives, who, on political subjects, entertained opinions differing from those he professed. If we may take the opinion of those who lived in intimacy with him, the social qualities of the Duke of Kent possessed a charm which even royalty itself seldom confers.

The death of the Duke of Kent, though the least anticipated, was not the only, nor the greatest loss which the Royal Family sustained at this time. The bulletin issued on the 1st of January this year, stated, that his Majesty's disorder had undergone no material alteration, and that his bodily health, though it had partaken of some of the infirmities of age, had been generally good during the preceding month. The infirmities of age, to which allusion was thus made, consisted in gradual loss of flesh and decay of strength, which had been accelerated in its course by a slight diarrhœa. This attack, though it lasted but two days, left him much debilitated, and returned after a short interval with increased violence. The digestive organs were now so much impaired, as no longer to perform their functions; the stomach rejected all animal food, the bowels

completely lost their tone; the royal sufferer seemed to suffer so much from cold, that though every proper means was adopted to raise the temperature of his apartment, this symptom of the decay of the vital principle and of the torpor of the blood, manifested itself with increasing strength. Even in this last stage of the approach to dissolution, his habitual activity did not forsake him; and though he no longer rose at his usual hour, it was not till within two days of his death that he was confined entirely to his bed. On the night of Friday, the 28th of January, the symptoms became so alarming, that it was evident to every one present, that this long reign was rapidly drawing to a close. On the following morning, Sir Henry Halford came to London, and instantly had an interview with the Duke of York.

In consequence of the information which his Royal Highness received, he set off for Windsor without delay, and, on his arrival there, he found the King in a state which afforded no room for hope. The weakness of his Majesty increased every instant, but it was a consolation to those around him that the approach of death was not attended by any pain. As the evening

drew on, nature sunk exhausted; and at thirty-five minutes past eight o'clock in the evening of Saturday the 29th of January, 1820, George the III. expired, having retained his recollection almost to the last, though without the presence of any lucid interval.

The death bed of a Sovereign is at all times one of the most striking scenes which the world can exhibit; but in that of George III. there is something more than usually imposing. The purity of his individual character—the situation and temper of the people over whom he ruled —the length of his reign—the vicissitudes which it had witnessed—the degradation which in the course of those vicissitudes had visited every throne except his own, all tend to throw around the last minutes of George III. a more solemn splendor than ever consecrated the death bed of any other sovereign of modern times.

Seldom has so much private virtue adorned a throne as in the person of George III. It may be said of him, and with truth (and no higher praise can a King of England receive) that he had not among his subjects a worthier man than himself. His habits of temperance, of early rising, and of regular exercise, enabled him to retain long, and to enjoy fully the

blessings of the vigorous constitution which he had received from nature. His pleasures were all simple and innocent; they consisted chiefly in the gratification which his domestic affections found in the bosom of his numerous family, varied by the sports of the field and agricultural pursuits. He had no propensity to vain or ostentatious expense, though the splendor of his court was maintained with due decorum. As a husband, as a father, as a master, he was a model worthy the imitation of his subjects.

The morning after the demise of the late King, as many of the Cabinet Ministers as were in town, resigned their credentials into the hand of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, who, at a court held a few hours afterwards, delivered them to the Sovereign. At the same court, the Lord Chancellor appeared, divested of his insignia of office, and gave up the seals to the King. These proceedings, which, on similar occasions, are generally matters of high importance, both to the individuals, and to the state, were in this case a mere ceremonial. The seals were immediately returned to Lord Eldon, and the other Cabinet Ministers were severally re-appointed to their former offices. A Privy Council was afterwards

held, at which his Majesty took his seat on the throne as Sovereign, and made and signed the usual declaration, and on the Monday, the ceremony of the proclamation took place.

Scarcely had the pageant passed away, however, when the sudden and severe illness of the King excited a general apprehension that a new cause of public mourning might soon be added to those which already existed. For some days previous to the death of his father, the Prince had laboured under a violent cold, the agitation naturally produced by the loss of a father and a brother, within the short space of a week, aided, no doubt, by the bustle and personal exertions which the commencement of a new reign made requisite, aggravated all the symptoms; so that towards the evening of the day, January the 31st, of his proclamation, they assumed an alarming aspect. When it was announced by a formal bulletin on the following day, that the King had been attacked by an inflammation of the lungs, the very disease which, only seven days before, had, in so short a time, carried the Duke of Kent to a premature grave; the most gloomy presages naturally suggested themselves. These, fortunately, were not verified by the result. After nine days

his Majesty was declared convalescent, though it was some time before he recovered his usual strength.

On the 30th of January, 1820, the Houses of Parliament, as is usual on the death of the Sovereign, assembled. Mr. Cowper, the Chief Clerk, administered the oaths to the Peers. The Lord Steward performed the same duty to the members of the Commons. The Houses then adjourned to the 17th of February, the day after the funeral of the late King. As a dissolution was contemplated at as early a period as possible, the two Houses proceeded at once to the dispatch of that portion of business which was imperative. The first measure adopted was to vote an address of condolence to his Majesty, which was carried up to the throne by the members of both Houses. This ceremonial gone through, each House proceeded to the dispatch of business. Several items of supply were granted, though not without meeting with strong opposition from Mr. Tierney, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Hume, and others, who contended that these votes of public money should have awaited the opinion of a new Parliament. A warm discussion also took place on a question put by Mr. Hume,

relative to the omission of the Queen's name in the Liturgy. Whilst these subjects, and others equally exciting in their nature, were engaging the attention of the two Houses and of the public, the Ministers were silently pressing forward the Mutiny Bill and other imperative measures; and these having passed both Houses and received the Royal assent, Parliament was prorogued on the 28th of February to the 13th of March. On this occasion the speech was delivered by commission, his Majesty not being sufficiently recovered to admit of his going down to the House to prorogue Parliament in person. The dissolution of Parliament followed hard upon the prorogation, and the din of election contests prevailed throughout the land. The elections, however, notwithstanding the previously agitated state of the country, were conducted without any unusual violence or tumult; and their results, as far as any alteration in the position of parties could be observed, were certainly favourable to Ministers. Mr. Peel was, for the third time, returned for the University of Oxford.

The new Parliament met on the 21st of April, and Mr. Manners Sutton was again elected Speaker. On the 27th of April, a

great majority of the members having been sworn in, his Majesty went in state to the House, and opened Parliament in person, with a speech from the throne. In the course of the session, the Catholic cause lost one of its most strenuous and able supporters, and the House one of its most splendid and eminent ornaments. Mr. Grattan had come over to take his seat once more, for the especial purpose of again advocating the claims of the Catholics. Upon his arrival in London, he found himself in a state of health, which rendered him incapable of exertion; his infirmities increased, and he died, without having again appeared in that House, which he had so often delighted by his eloquence, and instructed by his wisdom. The claims of the Catholics was the last subject which occupied his thoughts, and in his dying hour, he exhorted them, how often so ever they might be disappointed, to abstain from taking any part in the dissensions which might be occasioned by the existing differences in the Royal Family, and never to make common cause with the abettors of Radical Reform, or of Annual Parliaments, and Universal Suffrage. Mr. Grattan may be regarded as the last of those celebrated orators, who dignified the close

of the eighteenth and the commencement of the nineteenth century. He had been the contemporary and the rival of Pitt, of Fox, of Windham, of Sheridan. His eloquence was indeed of a character, altogether different from that which distinguished each of the eminent statesmen, and orators, whose names are enumerated above; and though he might not surpass them, he exhibited at least a peculiarity of style, brilliant in itself, though, sometimes too profuse, and too effeminate in its ornaments—in which, no one ever approached near him. In losing him, the House of Commons was deprived not only of one of its most distinguished ornaments, but of the last member, as it were, of the most illustrious band of orators, which it had ever possessed, at any one time, within its walls.

The discussion on Mr. Brougham's plan for the general education of the poor, and of Sir J. Mackintosh's proposition for amending our criminal code, occupied a very considerable portion of the early part of the session of 1820. The latter portion of the session was fully taken up with the enquiry into the conduct of the Queen, whilst residing abroad; Mr. Peel took a part, though not a leading one, in the

debates which took place on all these important subjects.

Parliament met, pursuant to adjournment, on the 23rd of January, 1821, on which day his Majesty went down to the House in state, and opened the session by a speech from the throne. The address in reply to the speech was moved in the Lords by Lord Belmore, and seconded by Lord Prudhoe. In the Commons Mr. Banks, jun., was the mover and Mr. Brown the seconder of the address, which was agreed to without a division, in both Houses. The first business of importance, brought before the Commons, arose upon the following resolution, moved by the Marquis of Tavistock. "That it appears to this House, that, his Majesty's Ministers, in advising the measures which have led to the late proceedings against her Majesty the Queen, were not justified by any political expediency or necessity; and, that their conduct throughout the whole of these proceedings, has been productive of consequences derogatory from the honour of the crown, and injurious to the best interests of the country." The debate on this motion occupied the House two nights.

On the first night, Mr. Peel addressed a powerful speech to the House in opposition to

the resolution, and in defence of the Ministers. He expressed his regret that her Majesty's name should have been omitted from the liturgy; that a palace had not been provided for her; that her demand for a ship of war had not been complied with; because circumstances like these, though in themselves trifles, gave rise to an impression on the minds of the public that she was an object of persecution; but he declared his concurrence in the general course of measures, which had been adopted. It had been impossible, Mr. Peel said, to allow the Queen, with such grave charges and suspicions hanging over her, to ascend the throne without a communication to Parliament. "Where was the evil?" it was asked, "of avoiding all proceedings?" What! was it no evil to place on the throne of England imputed adultery and guilt? To raise a Queen, accused of licentiousness of the grossest character, to the head of a female society, distinguished for the decencies which form the charm of life? Not only was the enquiry necessary, it was inevitable; and every attempt to evade it would have been ultimately ineffectual. Had every privilege been conceded to her, they who now fought her battles, would have been in arms against

her; and the House would at that moment have been engaged in discussing the question, whether the Government ought not to be impeached for withholding the charges under which they knew her to labour. It was doubtless a misfortune that the proceedings against her, afforded a vile and degraded faction an opportunity of throwing much abuse and reproach upon illustrious and royal station. But this calamity was the necessary result of a spirit of mischief availing itself of circumstances over which Ministers had no controul; and whatever course might have been adopted by the Government, would have come from the same quarter, though perhaps in a form somewhat different. They, who when the Queen was recommended to them, by being the object of a prosecution, had seized her arm to shake the throne, would have turned their venemous tongues against her if she had been tranquilly admitted into the full enjoyment of regal splendor. They would have propagated and circulated every insinuation, however degrading, and been the first to ask what respect was due to a throne which could be so filled. Nothing less than the triumph of complete, and unequivocal innocence would satisfy her

Majesty; and how could Ministers allow her that triumph, convinced as they were that she was a guilty woman. Mr. Peel concluded an animated and powerful address, by an argument to prove that the proceeding by bill of Pains and Penalties was the least objectionable course which could have been adopted. On the question being put the numbers were for Lord Tavistock's motion 178, against it 324; majority against the motion 146.

The sudden arrival of the Queen, and the exciting discussions which followed, both in and out of Parliament, had, in the preceding year, prevented the discussion of several of those great points of internal policy, on which the public generally at that time felt the deepest interest; and on some of which the greatest diversity of opinion existed. These now resumed their habitual importance, and began again to occupy their usual, or indeed, a greater degree of the public attention. In the early part of the session the claims of the Roman Catholics were brought under the notice of the two Houses by their petitions; and on the 28th of February, Mr. Plunkett moved, "that a committee of the whole House should proceed to take into consideration the state of the

laws affecting the Roman Catholics, for the purpose of enquiring whether it would be expedient to alter or modify the same." In his introductory speech Mr. Plunkett proceeded to argue the question as one of religion, of constitutional right, and of policy. The greater portion of his speech was devoted to answering the arguments used by Mr. Peel on former occasions, in resisting concessions to the Catholics, and much of his argument was addressed to that Right Honorable gentleman personally.

Thus called upon, Mr. Peel took the lead in opposing Mr. Plunkett's motion, and in doing so observed, that the principle laid down by Mr. Plunkett went the length of asserting that every subject of the realm had an equal right to office, and that to exclude any one it must be shown that some great and paramount danger would arise to the country from adopting a different course. Grant this view of the question to be correct, and what would be the consequence? Why that you must not merely modify, but that you must entirely repeal the Test and Corporation Acts—those restrictive laws of which Burke and Windham had approved, and which Mr. Pitt had revered as the bulwarks of the national Church. The very

basis, therefore, of the argument on the other side was an assumption which had not been proved, and which was at variance both with authority and sound principle; and the proposition of the Right Honorable gentleman, if adopted, would, he (Mr. Peel) contended, have the effect of exasperating rather than soothing the political dissensions of Ireland. The motion was, however, supported on this occasion by Lord Castlereagh, Sir James Mackintosh, and Mr. Charles Grant, the latter gentleman had succeeded Mr. Peel as Chief Secretary for Ireland, and on a division was carried by 227 to 221, a majority of 6.

On the 2nd of March following, the House resolved itself into a committee, when Mr. Plunkett stated the course which he meant to pursue, which was to propose in the committee certain resolutions, and after they should have been carried, and leave given to bring in a Bill founded on them, to fix the first and second reading of that Bill, at such intervals as should leave ample time for the full consideration of its merits. The following were the resolutions proposed by Mr. Plunkett:—

I.—"That it appears to this committee that by certain acts of Parliament of Great Britain

and Ireland respectively, certain declarations and affirmations are required to be made as qualifications for the enjoyment of certain offices, franchises, and civil rights, therein mentioned."

II.—" That such parts of the said oaths as require a declaration to be made against the belief of transubstantiation, or that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint; and that the sacrifice of the Mass, as used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous, appear to this committee to relate to opinions merely speculative and dogmatical, not affecting the allegiance or civil duty of the subject, and that the same may, therefore, safely be repealed."

III.—" That it appears to this committee that, in several acts passed in the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, respectively, a certain oath, commonly called the oath of supremacy, is required to be taken, as a qualification for the enjoyment of certain offices, franchises, and civil rights, therein mentioned."

IV.—" That in the said oath and declaration is contained, that no foreign Prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-

eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual within these realms."

V.—" That it appears to this committee, that scruples are entertained by his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects with respect to taking the said oath, merely on account of the word 'spiritual' being inserted therein; and that for the purpose of removing such scruples, it would be expedient to declare the sense in which the said word is used, according to the injunction issued by Queen Elizabeth, in the first year of her reign, and recognized in the Act of the fifth of her reign, and which is explained by the thirty-seventh of the Articles of the Church of England, imports merely, that the King of this realm should govern all estates and degrees committed to his charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain, with the civil sword, the stubborn and evil doer."

VI.—" That it is the opinion of this committee, that such Act of repeal and explanation should be accompanied with such exceptions and regulations as may be found necessary for preserving unalterably the Protestant succession to the Crown, according to the Act for the further limitation of the Crown, and better

securing the rights and liberties of the subject, and for maintaining inviolate the Protestant Episcopal Church of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, government, and discipline thereof; and the Church of Scotland, and the doctrine, worship, government, and discipline thereof, as the same are by law respectively established."

The resolutions were agreed to *pro forma*, Mr. Peel at the time declaring his determination to oppose the measure to the utmost in every stage. Leave was then given to bring in a Bill founded on them; and subsequently Mr. Plunkett brought in two Bills, embracing, all the points contained in the resolutions.

On the 7th of March, the Bills were brought in and read a first time without opposition; and the second reading was fixed for Friday, the 16th of March; for which night an order was, on the motion of Sir George Hill, made for the House being called over.

This proceeding did not pass without exciting the most lively sensation out of doors; meetings were held in every town and parish in the kingdom. Resolutions were passed, petitions adopted, and presented from every quarter against the Bills; and amongst them

was one presented by Mr. Wilberforce, from the Catholics of Staffordshire. This petition was numerously signed, and amongst the signatures attached to it was that of Dr. Milner. This petition expressed the strongest loyalty and affection towards the King, the Royal Family, and the Constitution, and earnestly prayed that the Bills then before the House might not be passed into a law, in as much as they imposed extraordinary and intolerable restrictions on conscience.

Mr. Peel took the opportunity which the presentation of this petition afforded him, of calling the attention of the House to one of the arguments which he had adduced on a former night; namely, that the measure itself, as now brought forward, was one with which the Catholics themselves were dissatisfied, and which they could not generally support; and further, that instead of its operating as a measure of conciliation with the Catholics of Ireland, it would have the effect of greatly increasing the spirit of irritability which already prevailed between the Catholic and Protestant population of that country.

Mr. Plunkett, however, on the evening of the 16th, proceeded, pursuant to his notice, to

move the second reading of the Bill into which the following clause had been introduced—namely, "that nothing herein contained," that is in theBills before the House, or either of them, "shall be construed to extend, or shall extend, to enable any person, being a Roman Catholic, to hold and enjoy the office of Lord High Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or Lord Commissioner of the Great Seal of Great Britain; or of Lord Lieutenant, or Lord Deputy, or other the Chief Governor, or Governors of Ireland." The exceptions in the Bill went no further, but Mr. Plunkett observed, it was perfectly open for any member in the committee to propose other exceptions if he thought proper. With respect to the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the Bill provided that all their existing institutions should remain in precisely the same situation, as that in which they stood at present. The Test Laws were left as they stood, and liable only to the operation of the Indemnity Act.

The second reading was supported by Mr. Canning, Mr. Wilberforce, and Sir James Mackintosh; and opposed by Mr. Peel and Mr. Banks, and after a long debate the House divided, when there appeared, for the second

reading 254; against it 243. The second reading was therefore carried by a majority of 11 votes.

On the 23rd of March, the measure was again brought under the consideration of the House. Upon this occasion Mr. Plunkett was absent, in consequence of the death of Mrs. Plunkett. Sir J. Newport moved the re-commitment of the bill, and the House having gone into a committee, the clause respecting the new oath of supremacy was opposed by Mr. Peel, Sir W. Scott, Sir J. Nichol, Mr. Wetherell, and others; and supported by Lord Castlereagh, Mr. C. Grant, and Sir James Mackintosh; on a division the clause was adopted by a majority of 230 to 216.

On the further debate in the committee, on the 26th of March, Mr. Banks proposed a clause, the object of which was, to prevent Catholics from sitting in Parliament. This clause produced a long and animated debate, in the course of which Mr. Peel, as the supporter of the clause, and Mr. Canning as its opponent, were opposed to each other; and their speeches were on this occasion more powerful, both as regarded reasoning and eloquence than usual. Each spoke with a desire, and a hope to gain

supporters for the cause he advocated, and the effect produced upon the House bore a proportion to the energy displayed by the speakers. The result bore a fair proportion to the divisions which had previously taken place; on a division, Mr. Banks's motion was lost by a majority of 12. The numbers being for the clause 211, against it 223.

Mr. Peel then proposed a clause for the exclusion of Catholics from the Privy Council, and from the Judicial Bench, but this motion was also lost, on a division, the numbers being for the motion 169, against it 188.

On the 2nd of April, on the order of the day being moved for the third reading of the Bill, Sir William Scott moved, as an amendment, That the Bill should be read a third time that day six months. The amendment was supported by Mr. Peel, and opposed by Mr. Canning, and, on a division, the motion for the third reading was carried by a majority of 19; the numbers being, for the third reading 216, for Sir W. Scott's amendment 191.

The Bill having been thus triumphantly carried through the Commons, was, on the following day, taken to the Lords, by Sir John Newport; who was on this occasion attended

by an unusually large number of members. The Bill was read a first time without any debate, and the second reading was fixed for the 16th of April; on which day the Earl of Donoughmore moved the second reading. A long debate followed, and on a division, the motion was negatived by a majority of thirty-nine. The numbers being for the second reading 120, against it 159. The Bill was thus lost, and with it the hopes of the Catholics for the remainder of the session.

During the remainder of the session Mr. Peel occasionally joined in the debates which occurred on the question of Parliamentary Reform; on Sir J. Mackintosh's motion relative to the Amendment of the Criminal Code, and on other questions which came before the House; but took no prominent part in the discussions, and on the 11th of July Parliament was prorogued.

The beginning of the year 1822 was chiefly distinguished by the numerous meetings, which took place in the agricultural districts, for the purpose of adopting petitions to Parliament for relief, under their alleged distresses and grievances. At these meetings, each orator was prepared with a remedy, which he con-

tended, if properly applied, could not fail to cure the evils of which they had to complain. Amongst these remedies we find the following recorded. Foreign corn was to be excluded, and from this exclusion incalculable benefits were to result. The advocates of this measure, however, wholly overlooked one circumstance, of some little importance to be sure—namely, that assuming there was any truth in public documents, a long time had elapsed since any foreign corn had been sold in our markets, our consumption having been fully supplied by the produce of our own soil. The reduction of taxes, especially those pressing heaviest on agriculture, was another remedy proposed as a cure for the existing evils; though, in themselves, the reduction of these taxes could have had but little effect, and it is hard to discover, by the most minute investigation, how this reduction of taxation could have operated to raise the price of corn, to which source alone the farmer could, to take his own statement, look for any relief. But these measures were insignificant compared with the three great objects which the petitioners avowed they aimed at, and which their orators openly advocated in the speeches delivered at these meetings;

namely, Parliamentary Reform, the Abolition of Tithe, and a compulsory reduction of interest on the National Debt. The last of these schemes was listened to, incredible as it may appear, with complacency by country gentlemen of moderate politics, and who, in their own districts, were persons of some influence. Many of these were not ashamed to allude to this wild and wicked dream of rapine, as a measure which might soon turn out to be most necessary and most prudent. Beginning to feel the temporary pressure of distress, they did not hesitate to raise or foster the cry, "plunder all, in order that we may live more at our ease." But had they even been insensible to the iniquity of such a system, it is extraordinary, that they could have been blind to its danger, for in the conflict which must inevitably have followed any attempt to carry out such a plan of robbery, the triumph of the landowner was far from being certain. It could scarcely be supposed that the moneyed interest, so numerous, so active, so accustomed to act in concert, so conversant with the affairs of the world, would tamely submit to be so plundered. If, on the one side, the appeal to the people was to be—"deprive the fundholder of his property, and

you will be freed from more than half your taxes;" was there no danger that the language on the other side might be, "strip the landholder of his estates, which are in fact, mortgaged to us, the fundholder, and you shall have not only less taxes to pay, but also farms to live on rent free?" and on which side would the bribe offered have been the most tempting? Justice, essentially in the abstract, adverse to both, would have been relatively with those, who, being originally the assailed and not the assailants, were driven to violate her rules only as a defence against aggression.

Fortunately, however, at this crisis, our high aristocracy remained true to old English maxims, and to the cause of justice and good faith. The representatives of our great families, whether ministerial or anti-ministerial, with scarcely a single exception, opposed and reprobated every proposition tending in the most distant manner to a breach of faith with the public creditor; and their unanimity and firm adherence to sound principles tended no doubt to arrest the progress of the pernicious doctrines with regard to National Bankruptcy, which were beginning to have currency in the country.

The clamours of the country gentlemen before

the meeting of Parliament, had probably a great influence in determining the Ministry to form a union with the Grenville party. The Marquis of Buckingham was elevated to the dignity of a Dukedom; Mr. C. Wynne was placed at the head of the Board of Control, and another of the family, Mr. H. Wynne, was named envoy to the Swiss Cantons with appointments, to the amount of about £4,000 a year. This union of parties excited, as might have been anticipated, a loud clamour amongst the Whigs. The acceptance of place by persons who had been found so frequently voting in the minority with the opposition, was deemed a most disgraceful barter of public principle for place and power; but the Grenvilles had never been friends in principles with the opposition; they had always been opposed to the increase of popular influence; and when they differed from Ministers, it was not so much on matters of principle, as on the expediency of particular measures. They had no one great principle in common with the opposition, and on no one great principle was there any difference between them and the Ministers.

The gain to the Ministers, by this accession, was not, however, very considerable. They

insured a few additional votes in the House of Commons, and they acquired a negative species of strength by thinning the ranks of their adversaries and depriving them of the lustre of a great family name, and the weight which such a name, when opposed to the Crown, never fails to carry with it, and thus the loss to opposition was probably greater than the gain to Ministers.

Another change, and one of much greater importance to Ministers, took place at this time. In the month of January of this year Lord Sidmouth, who had long desired to withdraw from the active duties of office, was now permitted to realize that wish: it was arranged that his lordship should retire from the active duties of the Home Office, but still retain his seat in the Cabinet. This arrangement was carried into effect, and the noble Lord retired, being accompanied in his retreat by the esteem of all who reverenced private worth for its own sake, or who valued it as a pledge of public virtue. He was disliked by none but those who disliked the institutions of their country; undervalued by none except those who knew not how to appreciate private virtue. His official situation was one which involved duties

often painful to the feelings as well as fatiguing to the understanding; and he had filled it during times more than usually critical. Prudence, circumspection, indefatigable industry, and a most minute attention to the matters that came within his department, distinguished his official career. His Lordship's retirement from office appears to have been altogether voluntary. His increasing age rendered him desirous of resigning a situation attended with a constant and heavy responsibility, and one of the most laborious appointments under the Crown; and, as regarded his colleagues, the step was attended with no inconvenience to them generally, whilst to Lord Castlereagh (now become, by the death of his father, Marquis of Londonderry) a change was highly desirable. In the House of Commons his Lordship stood almost alone: the entire burden of the business of that House rested on him; there was no one of the Ministers, except himself, competent to answer questions, give explanations, repel the sudden attacks of an active opposition to measures originating in, or connected with the Home Department; and the performance of these duties, added to the onerous ones relating to his own department, imposed a labour on the

mind which the noble Marquis had already discovered, by the declining state of his health, was too great for human nature to sustain. The retirement of Lord Sidmouth afforded an opportunity to the noble Foreign Secretary of obtaining efficient assistance, of which he immediately determined to avail himself, by inviting Mr. Peel to join the Administration, by becoming the successor of Lord Sidmouth, as Secretary for the Home Department, and a member of the Cabinet. The proposition was acceded to by Mr. Peel, and in February the Right Honorable gentleman's appointment was announced in the usual form in the Gazette.

This appointment, as a matter of course, vacated Mr. Peel's seat as representative for the University of Oxford. It is scarcely necessary to state that he was re-elected without opposition.

Mr. Peel's political principles, his views upon public questions generally, and the course of policy which, in his Parliamentary career, he had pursued, were almost invariably similar to those of Lord Sidmouth. Such being the case the secession of the noble Lord, and the appointment of his successor, produced no per-

ceptible change in the policy of the Home Department; whilst in the House of Commons Lord Londonderry obtained that which he so much required, an able and efficient coadjutor.

The change which at this time took place in the arrangements of the Irish Government, it was anticipated, would, on the contrary, be productive of a very important alteration in the administration of affairs in that country. The appointment of the Marquis of Wellesley to the Lord Lieutenancy of that part of the empire was considered by all as indicative of the commencement of a new system of government there; and the removal of Mr. Saurin, the powerful, though, in the vehemence of his party feeling, not always the judicious advocate of Protestant ascendency, from the influential office of Attorney General, and the appointment of Mr. Plunkett, the professed friend of the Catholics and supporter of their claims, gave strength to that opinion. Under thes enew and favourable auspices it was anticipated that the spirit which had heretofore embraced every opportunity of exulting in the restraints imposed on the Catholics would be discouraged; that the zeal of the Orange partizans would be repressed; and that conciliation towards the

great body of his Majesty's Irish subjects, the Catholics, would be the prevailing feature of the Marquis's administration; the result of which system, if acted upon, the friends of emancipation contended, would be the establishment of an epoch from which Ireland was to date the commencement of an era of internal union and tranquillity. Time, and passing events have proved how fallacious those anticipations were.

On the 5th of February, 1822, Parliament was opened by the King in person. In the speech from the throne his Majesty, speaking of Ireland, observed, "In my late visit to Ireland I derived the most sincere gratification from the loyalty and attachment manifested by all classes of my subjects. With this impression, it must be matter of the deepest concern to me that a spirit of outrage, which has led to daring and systematic violations of the law, has arisen, and still prevails in some parts of that country. I am determined to use all the means in my power for the protection of the persons and property of my loyal and peaceable subjects; and it will be for your immediate consideration whether the existing laws are sufficient for this purpose." Thus recommended from the throne,

the state of Ireland was one of the first subjects to which Parliament directed its attention. Lord Londonderry, in introducing the subject, adverted to the alarming height to which the disturbances in that country had risen; and in proof of that fact stated in detail, from official documents, various cases of atrocity, which had recently occurred in different parts of that country in which the laws and the powers of the Government had been outraged and set at defiance. His Lordship concluded his statement by moving for leave to bring in two Bills, one for the re-enactment of the Insurrection Act, and the other for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. The Government, in proposing these measures, he observed, was not devising schemes for the general improvement of Ireland; their object was to propound measures for immediately arresting the career of outrage and rebellion; and the measures he now proposed, were brought forward with the sanction, and on the recommendation of the noble Marquis who was at the head of the Irish Government. Sir H. Parnell, Mr. C. Grant, Mr. Dawson, and Captain O'Grady, spoke in favour of Lord Londonderry's motion.

The Bills were brought in, and ultimately passed both Houses by large majorities.

The question upon the Catholic Petitions was not brought forward during the present session in its annual form; but Mr. Canning, who had been appointed to succeed the Marquis of Hastings, as Governor General of India, determined, that previous to his departure, and as a subject worthy by its importance of forming the foundation of what would probably prove his last display of eloquence and talent in the British House of Commons, to call the attention of the House to the consideration of Catholic emancipation in a new and somewhat circumscribed form. With all the progress which the question had made in parliament in former sessions, there was still no chance of carrying any proposition, having for its object the general admission of Catholics to political power. Of this fact Mr. Canning was fully aware. Still he thought it not wholly impossible that a partial measure might be carried, and the way be thus opened for complete concession at no very distant period. Under this impression, he determined on bringing forward a motion having for its object the admission of Catholic Peers to seats, and to restore to those

individuals the right of speaking and voting in the House of Peers. Many, he was persuaded, would support this partial measure who would shrink from going the length of full and general emancipation. If his proposition were adopted, the gain to the Catholic cause would be incalculable. By the admission of Catholics to the House of Peers, a certain and probably a speedy means of triumph would be established. Thus admitted, they would, as it were, form a part of the garrison of the citadel. That object effected, it was not probable they would be long excluded from the city.

Pursuant to this resolve on his part, on the 30th of April, he moved, for leave to bring in a Bill to relieve Roman Catholic Peers from the disabilities imposed on them by the Act of 30, Charles II. with regard to the rights of sitting and voting in the House of Peers; after adverting to some objections, which he anticipated as likely to be urged against his motion he entered into a historical view of the question from the passing of the Bill to the time in which he was speaking. He then proceeded in a strain of eloquence scarcely parallelled in any of his previous parliamentary exhibitions, to urge on the House, in the name of equity, and

of policy, the repeal of an Act founded on injustice, by which in its origin several persons not convicted of any crime were deprived of their birthright, and, by the operation of which unjust law, their innocent descendants were still excluded from the rights and privileges to which they were by birth entitled.

Mr. Peel met Mr. Canning's motion by a direct negative. After commenting on the extraneous topics, which had been pressed by that Right Hon. gentleman, into his speech, for the purpose of affording an opportunity for a more effective display of eloquence; he proceeded to comment more particularly on the historical statements, which had been introduced by him, with a view of giving effect to his motion; he contended, that, notwithstanding all the exaggerations of party and faction, the Act of the 30th of Charles II. had been called for by the peculiar circumstances of the times; and as a proof of this, if such proof were necessary, he might state, that the measure had been adopted and sanctioned by Parliament, at the revolution, long after the intrigues of 1678, and the passions which were engendered by those intrigues had ceased to exist; and further, Mr. Peel observed, that if Catholic Peers were

once admitted into the House of Lords, without securities or restraints, the doors of the House of Commons must also be thrown open to that sect, without reference to any of those guarantees and precautions, which even the friends of emancipation had hitherto thought necessary.

The motion was supported by Mr. Plunket, and opposed by Mr. Wetherell, and, after some further discussion, was, on a division, carried by a majority of 249 to 244. The second reading of the Bill came on, upon the 10th of May. On this occasion another debate took place: and Mr Peel repeated his opposition to the measure; "he did not," he said, "oppose the Bill, because its object was a partial one, for there were some partial measures to which he should not object; such for instance, as placing the English and Irish Roman Catholics on the same footing, as regarded distinctions at the bar; the granting a silk gown, or other privileges short of the judicial functions. There was, however, a great distinction between a specific and a partial measure; and his objection to the present proposition was, that it was partial in its operation, while it was general in its principle. It had been argued, that, there could be no danger in restoring a few noblemen

of distinguished rank and excellent character, to the privileges which their ancestors had enjoyed; but could any man of common sense fail to see the sophistry of this argument? The question was not whether half-a-dozen individuals should be restored to the privileges of their ancestors; but, whether the disabilities effecting one branch of the legislature should be removed, while they continued to be imposed on the other?—Whether the crown should have the power of creating an unlimited number of Roman Catholic Peers, while the people had not the power of returning to the House of Commons, even a limited number of Roman Catholic representatives? It had been contended that the disabilities attending the Catholic Peers ought to be removed first, because they were latest imposed on them; but if there was any validity in that argument, it would go to prove, that all restrictions should be first removed from the throne. With regard to securities, that part of the subject had not been discussed in the last debate, and in his opinion, it would have been better to have passed it over in silence, than to have alluded to it, in so ominous a manner, as had been done in the present discussion. They were

now told that these securities were never necessary, that they had been adopted merely for the purpose of quieting some ridiculous and exaggerated fears of Protestant bigots; and that the best security was to be derived from the unqualified admission of our Roman Catholic fellow subjects, to the enjoyment of equal rights and privileges. If such was the language adopted now, and the present Bill were to pass, without any securities, what would be the arguments employed, with regard to securities, when the general question came to be discussed in the next session?"

Lord Londonderry and Mr. Canning supported the second reading, which was carried, on a division, by 235 ayes to 223 noes; leaving a majority of 12 in favour of the Bill. No discussion or division took place on the third reading.

The Bill having been read a first time in the House of Lords, the second reading was fixed for the 22nd of June, by the Duke of Portland. Lord Colchester led the opposition to it in a concise but very able speech. He was followed by the Lord Chancellor, on the same side, and, after a long debate, their Lordship's divided, when there appeared for the second reading

129, against it 171; majority against the Bill 42. The measure was thus disposed of for the session.

The session of 1822 was not one of repose for Ministers. The people had long borne the burden of taxation, rendered necessary by the extraordinary contest which this country had for such a length of time been engaged in with the ruler of France, with exemplary patience. Ultimately, complete success and a glorious peace crowned their efforts and rewarded their perseverance. The country had been encouraged to hope that returning tranquillity abroad, and the restoration of trade and commerce at home, would have operated to relieve the nation from a portion of its burden. Year succeeded year, but the anticipated relief did not arrive. Seven years of profound tranquillity had effected but little amendment, and, at length, disappointed expectation produced that feeling on the part of the people which Lord Castlereagh had, on a former occasion, characterised as an "ignorant impatience of taxation." Petitions on that important subject flowed in upon the Legislature from all quarters, and from all classes of the people. The pressure from without, as the voice of the public has, in modern times, been

called, became too importunate to be any longer disregarded: and Ministers at length felt themselves compelled to adopt some measures which should show at least a disposition to economise and to lighten, in some degree, the heavy burden of impost which the country had so long borne. Amongst the plans devised by Ministers, the first attempted to be carried out was a proposition for the reduction of interest paid on a certain portion of the National debt. The funds fixed upon for the first experiment were the Navy 5 per cents, which were to be reduced to 4 per cent. To effect this object a new stock, bearing that interest, was to be created. The holders of the old stock were to have an option of being paid off, or to take the new stock in exchange, at the rate of £105 for every £100 old Navy 5 per cents. The new stock to bear an interest of 4 per cent. Persons dissenting and signifying that dissent within a given time were to be paid off, under certain regulations, at par. This plan was submitted to, and received the sanction of Parliament. Books were accordingly opened at the Bank for entering the names of dissentients, those holders not entering their names within a given time being considered as assenting. The

plan was received so favourably by the public that the dissents amounted to no more than £2,605,978, not a fiftieth part of the amount of stock in the Navy 5 per cents. The dissentients were paid off, the new stock was substituted for the remainder, and the saving to the public was estimated at about £1,200,000 annually, which sum it was proposed to apply to the reduction of some of those taxes the most obnoxious to the public. As the first subject of reduction, the Ministers selected the annual Malt Duty of one shilling per bushel; this tax had previously produced nearly one million and a half per annum, and its repeal absorbed the entire savings which the reduction of the navy 5 per cents had placed at the disposal of Ministers, without, however, satisfying the public, by whom much greater relief was expected, and earnestly called for.

The Ministers, on the contrary, declared they had, in giving up the Malt Tax, gone to the full extent which a prudent consideration for the safety of public credit would permit them to go in the path of repeal of taxation. Their opponents were, however, determined to force them to do that, which, of their own accord, they appeared very little disposed to

concede. Accordingly, Mr. Calcraft, on the 28th of February, brought forward a motion for the progressive repeal of the Salt Tax, in the ratio of one third of the amount of the tax yearly, for three years. In the course of the speech with which Mr. Calcraft introduced his motion, he stated, that the contribution of a labourer's family to this tax, was from 20*s.* to 25*s.* a year, and that the relief which the repeal of the tax would afford would be an important one to the class to which he had alluded. The Chancellor of the Exchequer assured the House that the adoption of the Honorable gentleman's proposition was wholly impracticable. The reduction of the tax in question would diminish the sinking fund by at least £500,000, and that the tax was not so much felt as was represented; in as much as the very small pittances which were weekly appropriated to the purchase of salt, would make no difference in the labourer's wages, and were scarcely perceptible in his expenditure; but Sir Edward Knatchbull, Sir Thomas Lethbridge, Messrs. Gooch, S. Wortley, Wodehouse, and other country gentlemen, on this occasion, joined the opposition against the Minister; and although Lord Londonderry assured the

House, that the taking £500,000 from the revenue would endanger the sinking fund, the division which followed left the Chancellor of the Exchequer with a majority of only four; 165 members voting for the repeal, and 169 against it.

This result, although it saved the tax for a time, was, in fact, a victory for the opposition and encouraged them to renew the attack though in another shape. On the following day, upon Sir J. Osborne moving a grant of £57,616 to defray the current expences of the Admiralty Department for the year; an amendment was proposed by Sir M. W. Ridley for reducing the vote by £2,000, being the salary of two juniors, or, as they were technically termed, lay Lords of the Admiralty. A long debate followed, at the close of which a division took place, and there appeared for the amendment 182, against it 128, thus leaving Ministers in a minority of 54; and this result was followed by the immediate abolition of those two useless offices. This defeat was not the only one which Ministers sustained at this time. On the 13th of March Lord Normanby moved, "That it is the opinion of this House, that without detriment to the public, the duties of

Joint Postmaster General, may be performed by one officer, and that the salary of the other might be saved." This motion was opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the ground of its being an indefensible interference with the influence of the Crown.

Mr. Peel treated the subject more cautiously, and whilst he adopted the arguments of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to a certain extent, he dwelt principally for his defence of the appointment on the length of time it had existed, and urged the necessity of continuing the Second Postmaster, in consequence of the increased and increasing business of the office. Mr. Peel also referred, in support of his argument, to the opinion of Mr. Burke, who, in his comprehensive plans of economy, had left this appointment untouched. The arguments of Mr. Peel, upon this occasion, were most ably urged, and produced the desired effect. On a division, the numbers were declared to be, for Lord Normanby's amendment 154; for Sir John Osborne's motion 184, giving to Ministers a majority of 30.

The smallness of this minority encouraged the opposition to renew the attack; and though it is not the usual course to repeat the same

motion in a session, Lord Normanby, on the 2nd of May, submitted to the House a proposition, the same in substance with his former motion. It was for an address to his Majesty, praying him to direct the office of one of the Postmasters General to be abolished. The motion was carried by a majority of 216 to 201. The effect of this decision was, the immediate resignation of Lord Salisbury, and the abolition of the appointment of second Postmaster. These arrangements were followed by an announcement on the part of the Government, that similar reductions would be made in the Irish establishment ; but, as regarded that of Scotland, the Postmaster having other duties to perform, a similar reduction in that country was impracticable.

But, though thus signally defeated upon the questions, to which we have alluded, Ministers were successful in opposing several other attempts at reduction or curtailment in the expences of the different Government departments. A motion, brought forward by Mr. Creevey, on the 14th of March, for an enquiry into the duties of the Board of Control, was negatived by a majority of 185, the numbers on a division being, for the motion 88; against

it 273. A motion of Mr. Lennard's, for enquiry into our diplomatic department, shared the same fate; Ministers, on a division, having a majority of 127, the numbers being, for Mr. Lennard's motion 120; against it 247. Several other attempts on the part of the opposition were disposed of in a similar way, and the hopes with which the opponents of the Government had been buoyed up by their success on the question of the Joint Postmaster General, and their near approach to victory in the case of the Salt Tax, were thus nipped in the bud; the fate of their subsequent proceedings, brought forward with no prospect of success, but merely with a view to embarrass the Government, shewing at once, that the Lion had merely slept for a moment, and thus giving to his enemy the opportunity of surprising him; but having roused himself from his slumber, it was soon seen that his strength had in no wise abated, but that, in fact, his short retirement and repose, had served to recruit his strength, and to render him more irresistible than before.

That, however, which the efforts of the opposition had failed in obtaining, Ministers, of their own accord, granted to the wishes of the

people. At the commencement of the session, Mr. Robinson had declared that the extent of relief which the exigences of the state would admit of being given by way of repeal of taxes, would be confined to the Repeal of the Malt Tax, as already stated. Previous to the close of the session however, the following reduction of taxes took place, namely:—

The Annual Malt Duty . . .	£1,500,000.
The Salt Tax	1,300,000.
The Leather Tax	300,000.
Tonnage Duty	150,000.
Irish Window and Hearth Tax . .	250,000.
Making a Total Repeal of . .	£3,500,000.

The selection of the taxes thus repealed, it was admitted on all hands, was a most judicious one; it was, however, generally regretted that a total repeal of the Salt Tax had not taken place. An impost of two shillings per bushel on that article had been retained; this produced about £200,000; but at the same time the collection of this greatly dininished revenue required that the whole expensive apparatus necessarily attendant on a tax, producing a return to the Treasury of £1,500,000 annually,

should still be kept up, although, as has been stated, the duty, as a source of revenue, did not produce quite £200,000.

The proposed renewal of the Alien Bill, this session, met with the usual opposition. Mr. Peel, in introducing this measure to the House, defended its expedience and necessity on the usual grounds. "He recollected," he said, "that he was proposing an Alien Bill at a time when the country had been at peace for seven years, and after his Majesty's declaration, made at the commencement of the session, that he was receiving from foreign powers, generally, assurances of their most friendly feeling towards this country. But every man who looked back to the events of the late war, the circumstances of the contest, and the principles which had produced it; every one, who for a moment recollected the consequences by which that war had been attended, upon the subversion of ancient dynasties and the establishment of new ones, upon the growth of fresh interest in the progress of the struggle, and upon the mode in which those interests had been effected by the transition from war to peace—every man who considered those facts must admit, that it was not the mere signature of a treaty of peace,

nor even the duration of that peace for seven years, that could extinguish the principles which had led to the tumult, nor conciliate the various conflicting interests which had taken part in it. Within the last two years great ferment and great political agitation had existed in Europe; in some countries open and absolute revolution; in others, attempts at the same end, through the instrumentality of an armed force and secret societies; and in others, conspiracies of the most dangerous description, which the wise and timely exertion of power had alone prevented from exploding.

"The consequences of these conspiracies and revolutionary attempts had been the expatriation of persons concerned in them. Many of those individuals had sought refuge in this country, and notwithstanding that the powers of the Alien Bill were in existence, the protection which they asked had not in a single instance been denied to them; no matter what might be the character of the man, the principles which he entertained, or the associations with which he was connected; on his arrival in this country there was an oblivion of the past, and the asylum which he looked for on the shores of Great Britain had not, in a single instance,

been refused. Even where informalities existed, which might have borne out exclusion, those informalities had never been taken advantage of. He stated these circumstances because he wished to show that England had not forfeited her character for hospitality. If, in any one instance, the powers of the act had been employed, it had been in the case of a person (General Gourgaud) who had come to this country, not for protection, but in order to make it the scene of his abominable designs. Holding in his hand, Mr. Peel said, a list containing the names of several persons implicated in the events to which he had been adverting, he did not think he should be justified in so exhibiting it as to give a clue to the retreat of the individuals in question, but, he said, not a conspiracy had been formed, or revolutionary attempt made, for the last two years, which had not thrown some persons upon the shores of this country. The fact was, that instead of the Alien Bill operating as a terror to foreigners, the number of Aliens had increased during the period it had been in operation. In the year 1818 there had been 22,000 Aliens in the country: in the present year (1822) the number exceeded 25,000. The increase in the five

months of the year, in which he was then speaking, which had expired, was 665. It was impossible to avoid inferring from these facts, that the Alien Bill had not operated, in any way, to prevent the resort of Foreigners to this country, either with a view to their interests, or to escape prosecution for their crimes. Under this Bill then, he might engage to secure to the Foreigner, who sought an asylum in this country, an oblivion of the past. We had, however, a right to say to Aliens, 'you shall not abuse the hospitality of these realms; you shall not desecrate the sanctuary you have chosen, by making it the scene of future conspiracies and cabals.'

"It would be in the highest degree improper to suffer our metropolis to become the resort of all who should be disposed to enter into plots against the peace of States with which we were in amity. Were the present Alien Act allowed to expire, such, he averred, on the responsibility of a Minister, would be the case; and he held it better to justify the measure which he was about to propose by precedents, than to lay before a secret committee information which it must always be desirable to conceal. In bringing this measure forward, he

was biassed by no partialities or prejudices; still less was he influenced by any suggestions from foreign Courts. It was as Secretary for the Home Department, and by virtue of that office alone, that he now submitted to the consideration of Parliament the wisdom and expediency of renewing those powers under which the admission of foreigners to this country had been regulated since the peace." Mr. Peel concluded his address by moving for leave to bring in the Bill.

This motion was opposed by Sir James Mackintosh, Mr. Denman, Mr. Scarlett, Sir R. Wilson, and Sir J. Newport. But, on a division, Mr. Peel's motion was carried by a majority of 182 to 92. The second reading of the Bill was agreed to by 108 ayes to 72 noes; and the third reading by 75 to 32.

In addition to the proceedings which have been briefly adverted to, some other subjects were brought before Parliament, which gave rise to keen debating, though in themselves of no real importance. Amongst them may be noticed, *en passant*, a motion brought forward in the early part of the session by Sir R. Wilson on the subject of his dismissal from the service. The gallant General entered into a full explanation

of his conduct on the 14th of August, which formed the groundwork of his dismissal, and moved "for copies of the correspondence which had taken place between himself and the Commander-in-Chief on that subject." Mr. Peel opposed the motion, not, however, with any reference to the merits or demerits of Sir Robert Wilson, as regarded his conduct at the Queen's funeral, but on the constitutional right and prerogative of the King, to erase, from the army list, the name of any officer in the service, without taking into consideration whether he had purchased his commission or not. The House coincided with Mr. Peel in the view which he took of the question, and recorded its opinion, on a division of 199 for the motion and 97 against the motion.

On the 6th. of March, Mr. Bennett moved a resolution to the following effect, namely, "That the respect and solemnity, which by ancient custom were observed at the funerals of Queens of England, had been unnecessarily and indecorously violated at the funeral of her late Majesty Queen Caroline."

To the charges brought forward against Ministers by Mr. Bennett, on this occasion, Mr. Peel gave a triumphant refutation, and

such was the weight of the statement made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in refutation of Mr. Bennett's charges, that even Dr. Lushington, who had been the late Queen's legal adviser, was obliged to make such admissions as completely overthrew the alleged facts upon which the motion was founded. It was, therefore, negatived without a division.

Mr. Henry Hunt was at this time a prisoner in Ilchester Gaol; several petitions had been presented to the House, praying its interference in his behalf, and Sir F. Burdett made a motion to that effect. The misconduct of the governor of Ilchester Gaol, and the exertions of Mr. Hunt in exposing his alleged mal-practices, were the principal arguments urged to show that the period of confinement to which the latter individual had been sentenced ought to be abridged. Mr. Peel strenuously resisted the motion, and went so far as to declare that, even should the House adopt Sir Francis Burdett's motion and vote an address, as proposed by the Honorable Baronet, he (Mr. Peel) would not advise the Crown to accede to it. The motion was of course rejected.

On the 6th of August, Parliament was

prorogued by the King in person; and on Saturday, the 10th of August, his Majesty embarked at Greenwich, on board the Royal George yacht, for Scotland. The Royal suite and the nobility, who accompanied the King, being accommodated on board others of the Royal vessels, the whole squadron soon got under weigh, the Lord Mayor's barge, which was towed by the Royal Sovereign Steam yacht, taking the centre of the stream and leading the squadron. In this order the fleet proceeded down the river, which was studded through the whole extent from Greenwich by boats and vessels of every description, whilst the shores on each side, where accessible, were lined with spectators. At Woolwich, Purfleet, Tilbury Fort, and Gravesend, military displays were made by the troops on shore. The loud-tongued Artillery at all these places proclaimed the approach of the Royal squadron, whilst the sonorous trumpet, the spirit-stirring drum, and the tinkling cymbal, to which were joined the enthusiastic shouts of the multitude, sounded a welcome to the illustrious navigator, as the Royal squadron passed those places. It was nine o'clock in the evening when his Majesty passed Southend, at which time the Lord

Mayor's barge was faintly visible from the shore, still leading the van, and closely followed by the Royal yacht. At the Nore the Lord Mayor took leave of the Royal George, a fresh breeze followed the calm which had previously prevailed, and his Majesty proceeded into the channel, where the Royal squadron laid to for the night, and at half-past four, in the morning of Sunday, again weighed anchor and proceeded to sea.

At ten o'clock in the forenoon, the Royal squadron was becalmed off Harwich, but the same evening, the Royal George, which was towed by two steamers, passed Yarmouth, having left the other vessels several miles behind. During his Majesty's voyage, along the coast, the most enthusiastic affection was displayed by all ranks of people. Whenever the squadron approached near enough to any town or village, every boat put off with well dressed visitors to salute his Majesty. The King, in his usual kind manner, returned by bows and smiles, the joyous greetings of his visitors. At Scarborough, the Mayor, in his robes, with the corporation, put off in a boat, with an address to his Majesty, but as the Royal George was going along with great

velocity at the time, the address was obliged to be handed up alongside attached to the end of a stick, which caused no little mirth among the sailors.

On Wednesday morning, when off Berwick-on-Tweed, a smart gale coming on, the royal squadron put into that port for some hours, and afterwards, the gale having subsided, his Majesty, again setting sail, reached Leith on the 15th, after a voyage of five days.

The King having landed, proceeded, accompanied by the different officers of the city, and an immense concourse of people, to the ancient palace of Holy-rood House; where the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh presented an address to him on his arrival.

On the 17th his Majesty held a Court, which was numerously attended; and on the 20th a Levée, at which addresses from the different public bodies in Scotland were received. On the 22nd, he repaired, accompanied by a grand procession, from the Palace of Holyrood house, to the Castle, escorted by the Highland clans, under their respective leaders, in full tartan costume. On arriving at the Castle, salutes were fired. On the 23rd he reviewed the

troops, on Porto Bello sands; amidst an immense assemblage of his Scottish subjects. On the 24th the King made his appearance at a ball, given by the Peers at the Assembly Rooms; and on the following day dined with the Corporation at the Parliament House. As this banquet was the most splendid which had been given in Scotland, for centuries, and possessed the almost forgotten distinction and attraction of having the Sovereign present; the following brief description of the proceedings may not be considered irrelevant.

" By a quarter-past six, all the nobility and as large a portion of the gentry as could be accommodated, were seated in the banqueting room. At half-past six o'clock, a herald entered, and the general cry immediately was, " The King is come." Soon after his Majesty entered in full Field Marshal's uniform, attended by all the officers of the Royal Household. The anthem of " God save the King," was played as his Majesty entered the room.

His Majesty was conducted to the head of the table, where he took his seat. On the King's right hand, sat the Lord Provost; and on his left, Lord Errol. The rest of the nobility, belonging to the Royal Household,

occupied the principal table, at which, also sat the chief Scottish nobles. Three tables were placed longitudinally from the Royal one, and to the central one of these three, Sir Walter Scott acted as *croupier*, or principal steward.

At a quarter before seven, the company commenced dinner; this enjoyment of corporate hospitality, lasted till near eight o'clock. When dinner terminated, a gentleman, attended by two pages, presented, on his knees, an ewer and napkin, to his Majesty, in virtue of some ancient tenure.

The Lord Provost then rose to propose the health of his Majesty, which he prefaced as follows:—"I have the honor to propose the health of his Majesty, who has this day done us the high honor of his presence, and, together with his most gracious visit to our country, thereby conferred a signal mark of distinction on his good town of Edinburgh—which will never—I venture to say, never—be obliterated from the memory of the present generation." His Majesty's health was then drank with the warmest greetings.

The King rose amidst this applause, in an attitude which commanded immediate silence. "I am quite unable" said his Majesty "to

express my sense of the gratitude which I owe to the people of this country; but, I beg to assure them, that I shall ever remember, as one of the proudest moments of my life, the day I came among them, and the gratifying reception which they gave me. I return you, my Lord Provost, my Lords, and gentlemen, my warmest thanks for your attention this day; and I can assure you with truth, with earnestness, and sincerity, that I shall never forget your dutiful attention to me on my visit to Scotland, and particularly the pleasure I have derived from dining in your hall this day."

Loud greetings hailed his Majesty's speech, and the band played "God save the King," which was afterwards sung by the vocal gentlemen present.

After his Majesty had for the moment resumed his seat, he again rose and spoke as follows:—"I take this opportunity, my Lords and gentlemen, of proposing the health of the Lord Provost, now Sir William Arbuthnot, Bart., and the Corporation of Edinburgh." Upon his Majesty naming the Lord Provost by the title of Baronet, that officer dropped on his knees, and kissed the King's hand, which was held out to him at the moment. This

gracious manner of giving additional rank to the Chief Officer of the Corporation was loudly applauded by the company, and his Majesty repeatedly bowed in acknowledgment.

The health of the Dukes of York and Clarence, and the Army and Navy followed. The King soon after rose and said—"I have one more toast to give, in which, I trust you will join me, and it is—Health to the Chieftains and the Clans, and God Almighty bless the Land of Cakes. Drink this with three times three, gentlemen."

His Majesty's command was obeyed with enthusiasm; but to the regret of the company the King departed at ten minutes past nine o'clock. His Majesty was loudly cheered as he withdrew, attended to his carriage by the Lord Provost and the principal Officers of State.

On the 29th of August his Majesty left Dalkeith a little before eleven, and at three o'clock embarked at Port Edgar. The Royal squadron got under weigh immediately, and arrived at Greenwich on the 1st of September; from thence his Majesty proceeded immediately to Carlton House, amidst the acclamations of the people.

This excursion to his northern dominions

gave his Majesty much gratification; but his satisfaction was greatly alloyed by receiving, on his arrival at Leith, the melancholy news of the unexpected and tragical death of Lord Londonderry. This event occurred at his Lordship's residence at Foots Cray, on the morning of Monday, the 12th of August. His physician, Dr. Bankhead, on the Friday evening preceding, had, at Lady Londonderry's request, waited on his Lordship, at St. James's Square, and found the head of his patient so confused and his pulse so irregular, that he ordered him to be cupped. This operation was accordingly performed, and seven ounces of blood were taken from him. After this the family left town for Foots Cray, Dr. Bankhead promising to follow them the next day. At seven o'clock on the ensuing evening Dr. Bankhead arrived, and proceeded immediately to his Lordship's room, he having been in bed all day. The Marquis, on seeing him, expressed astonishment that the Doctor should have come directly to his apartment, previous to going to the dining-room; to which the Doctor replied, that having dined before he left town, he did not wish to disturb the family. His Lordship then observed that Doctor Bankhead looked very grave, and

as if something unpleasant had happened, and begged to know what it was. The Doctor said he had nothing to tell, and was very much surprised at the manner of putting the question; upon which his Lordship apologised, adding that "the truth was, he had reason to be suspicious, in some degree, but hoped that the Doctor would be the last person to engage in anything which would be prejudicial to him." The Doctor remained in the house all the next day, and did not leave his Lordship until twelve o'clock on Sunday night. He then retired to rest in an adjoining apartment to that of the Marquis. On Monday morning, about seven o'clock, being summoned to attend his Lordship in his dressing-room, he entered just in time to save him from falling. His Lordship said—"Bankhead, let me fall on your arm—'tis all over," and instantly expired. He had cut his throat with a penknife.

On the Coroner's inquest, Lady Londonderry's maid gave clear and conclusive evidence proving that his Lordship had been for some days in a state of mental derangement. Dr. Bankhead's testimony was equally decisive on that point. The jurors having viewed the body and heard the evidence, unanimously

returned a verdict to the following effect:— "That on Monday, August 12th, and for some time previously, the most Noble Robert, Marquis of Londonderry, laboured under a grievous disorder, and became, in consequence, delirious, and of insane mind; and, whilst in that state, he inflicted on himself, with a knife, a wound in the neck, of which he instantly died."

After the verdict was delivered, the Coroner read a letter, dated the 9th of August, addressed to Dr. Bankhead by the Duke of Wellington, requesting the Doctor to call on Lord Londonderry on some pretext or other, as his conduct at the Council on that day had been so strange, that he certainly was labouring under some temporary mental delusion occasioned by the severe pressure of business. The Duke concluded by declaring the communication strictly confidential.

His Lordship was buried on Tuesday the 20th of August in Westminster Abbey, between the graves of those eminent statesmen Pitt and Fox. Although the funeral was considered a private one, it was attended by a number of the carriages of the nobility, and by all his colleagues in office who were then in London.

The Lord Chancellor showed deep emotion on the occasion. When the coffin was taken out of the hearse some miscreants, mixed with the multitude who were assembled, raised a shout which echoed loudly through every corner of the Abbey! Had this been the spontaneous ebullition of the feelings of the people we should have deplored, not the unpopularity of the departed statesman, but the brutal debasement of our countrymen. The horrid shout, however, which was heard on this occasion, was not that of the people, it came from a few abandoned, probably hired ruffians; and it excited among the great body of bystanders disgust and abhorrence. Lord Londonderry had never been a wooer of popular favour; but his character was too manly and noble to be generally disliked; and if he was not positively popular, he certainly possessed the public respect in a very high degree, in a degree much more than sufficient to protect his remains from contumely and insult; but this shout, which was intended as an insult to him, disgraced only those who raised it, and proved to the whole world what description of persons they were to whom the late Marquis of Londonderry had been an object of hatred.

As a practical statesman, Lord Londonderry possessed many of the qualities which combine to form a great man; firm faith to political friends—decision of purpose—indefatigable industry—and spotless integrity. To merchants and others who had occasion to make representations to Government, an interview with Lord Londonderry was always more satisfactory than with any other official man. He communicated to them, they said, without subterfuge or evasion, the course which he meant to pursue; and what he once said might be depended upon with undoubting confidence. As a Minister of the Crown, there was in his method of transacting business, clearness, arrangement, and steadiness, mixed, however, with so much kindness that he made every foreign Minister his personal friend. In his position as leader in the House of Commons, he so conducted himself, that even his most strenuous opponents could not entertain one hostile feeling towards him. There was never any rancour in his attacks or his replies; he was always firm, sometimes severe, but never coarse or personal, and there was a nobleness in his manner, a grace in his person, a suavity, and a sincerity, that gave weight and effect to every thing he

said. Often too when roused, or when he had to speak on an effecting or heroic subject, he displayed a feeling and an eloquence that did honor to his oratory and his heart; and whatever difference of opinion might be entertained with respect to his public character, there was but one sentiment, one opinion, with respect to his private virtues. As a man he possessed a disposition the most amiable; he was an affectionate husband, a polite and finished gentleman, a kind landlord, a mild and indulgent master, benevolent to the poor, and so affable in his manners that every individual, however inferior his rank, felt himself at his ease the moment he addressed him. These virtues found their reward in the strong affection borne to him, and the high estimation in which he was held by his private friends.

To find a successor for Lord Londonderry in the foreign department was a difficult task. The public voice generally recognized Mr. Canning as the individual best qualified to fill the vacancy occasioned in the Ministry, by the decease of the late greatly lamented Secretary for Foreign Affairs. If Mr. Canning was, in some respects, inferior to Lord Londonderry, yet, in rhetorical talent, he was decidedly his

superior. In a popular government like ours, eloquence is a talent of the first importance. In the eyes of the multitude, either within or without the walls of Parliament, it covers a multitude of sins; and, in the leader of the House of Commons it is an indispensable qualification. It was rumoured, however, though probably without foundation, that there existed, on the part of his Majesty, a reluctance to Mr. Canning's admission into the Cabinet, and further, that Lord Eldon had expressed his determination not to act with a Cabinet of which Mr. Canning formed a part. Certain it is, that for some time the matter continued in suspence, and the appointment remained open until the 16th of September, on which day the suspence was put an end to, by the appointment of Mr. Canning, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The year 1823 commenced under auspices extremely flattering, and the anticipations generally entertained by the commercial classes, of improvement, were not disappointed; the Country generally exhibited the most unequivocal marks of a steady and progressive improvement. Every branch of manufacturing industry was in a flourishing state. The cotton

manufactured iu 1822 exceeded that consumed in the preceding year, by at least one-fifth, and a very considerable increase had also taken place in the quantity of woollen cloths, and silks produced in the same period. The foreign orders received for iron, cutlery, and hardware, were of such extent as entirely to relieve the markets for those commodities from that state of stagnation into which they had fallen at the conclusion of the war, and which had hung over and depressed those connected with them from that time to the period of which we are speaking. The shipping interest also, which had participated in the general gloom, shared alike in the general improvement, and the ship builder's yards, one and all, presented a scene of busy and active industry.

The agricultural distress had diminished in the course of the former year; but the effects of the bye gone change in the circumstances of many owners and cultivators of the soil were still felt in a degree strong enough to give a plausible pretext for complaint. These complaints were loudly uttered in various county meetings, held immediately before, or shortly after the meeting of Parliament.

The language held at most of these meetings

was violent in the extreme; but it was regarded by the judicious as the effusion of party spirit, and as being neither in unison with the sentiments, nor suitable to the actual circumstances of the country. The people saw and felt that most classes in the community were in a thriving state, and that the embarrassments, even of the agriculturists, were becoming every day less. An opinion prevailed generally, that on subjects of internal policy the Ministry had shewn more just, more impartial, and more enlarged views of legislation than their opponents; and they became in consequence more popular. Some changes which took place about this time, in several of the most important offices, operated also to strengthen Lord Liverpool's Cabinet greatly in public opinion. Mr. Vansittart, who had always been much more respected for his virtues than admired for his talents, retired from the perplexities of finance, and the fatigues and anxieties inseparable from the troubled atmosphere of the Exchequer, to the quietude of the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancashire, and the peaceful repose of the upper House, to which he was called by the title of Baron Bexley; he was succeeded as Chancellor of the Exchequer by Mr. Robinson,

now Lord Ripon, whose place as President of the Board of Trade was supplied by the appointment of Mr. Huskisson, whilst Mr. Arbuthnot was made first commissioner of the Land Revenue. The appointments of Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Robinson were exceedingly popular ones; especially with the commercial portion of the community; those gentlemen standing high in the opinion of that class of his Majesty's subjects, the most beneficial results being anticipated from the well known liberality of their sentiments on all commercial subjects.

Such was the favorable position of Ministers at the meeting of Parliament, on the 4th of February. The session was opened by commission: the state of the King's health not admitting of his going down to the House to deliver the speech from the throne.

The speech was colored by the favorable position of the country; and the address, in both Houses, in reply to it, was agreed to unanimously.

On the 14th of April, the papers relating to the negociations which had taken place between France and Spain were laid before both Houses of Parliament by command of his Majesty.

This subject had created a great interest in the public mind in this country, and the opposition, both in and out of Parliament, were loud in their censures of Ministers for not having taken a more decided part on behalf of Spain, both at the Congress of Vienna, and in the subsequent negociations on this important question. The papers were taken into consideration in the Lords on the 24th of April, when Lord Ellenborough moved an address to his Majesty, in which was embodied a censure upon Ministers for not having taken a more energetic course to prevent the interference of France with the internal Government of Spain, and a recommendation that such course should be now adopted. The motion was lost on a division by 142 to 48; majority 94.

On the 28th of April the subject was brought forward in the Commons; when Mr. Macdonald moved "that a humble address be presented to his Majesty, stating that the House had taken into its serious consideration the papers relating to the late negociation which had been laid before them by his Majesty's gracious command; to represent to his Majesty, that the disappointment of his Majesty's benevolent solicitude to preserve general peace, appears to

this House to have, in a great measure, arisen from the failure of his Ministers to make the most earnest, rigorous, and solemn protests against the pretended right of the Sovereigns assembled at Verona, to make war on Spain on account of her political institutions; as well as against the subsequent pretensions of the French Government, to deny that nations can lawfully enjoy any civil privileges but from the spontaneous grant of their Kings—principles destructive of the rights of all independent States, which strike at the root of the British constitution, and are subversive of his Majesty's general title to the throne; further, to declare to his Majesty the surprise and sorrow with which this House has observed that his Majesty's Ministers should have advised the Spanish Government, while so unwarrantably menaced, to alter their Constitution, in hope of averting invasion—a concession which alone would have involved the total sacrifice of national independence; and which was not even palliated by an assurance from France, that, on receiving so dishonorable a submission, she would desist from her unprovoked aggression. Finally, to represent to his Majesty, that, in the judgment of this House, a tone of more dignified

remonstrance would have been better calculated to preserve the peace of the continent, and thereby to secure the nation more effectually from the hazard of being involved in the calamities of war."

To this address Mr. S. Wortley moved an amendment to the following effect, namely— "expressing the concurrence of the House in the principles laid down on the part of his Majesty with respect to interference in the internal concerns of independent nations, and their satisfaction at the manner in which those principles had been applied during the late negociations; lamenting that the efforts made to preserve the peace of Europe had not been successful; and declaring that they should be at all times ready to give their cordial support to such measures as might be necessary to vindicate the honor of his Majesty's Crown and the interests of the country."

The debate upon this question occupied the House two nights. On the second evening, Mr. Secretary Peel took a share in the discussion; he observed, that if it could be shown that the entering upon a war was a matter of indifference to this country, or that we should gain by such a step, then was blame to be

attributed to his Majesty's Ministers; but, if it was once admitted that peace was our policy, the next enquiry was, whether in the late negociations, his Majesty's Ministers had taken the course best calculated—first to prevent any war, and their efforts to that effect being unavailing, whether they had used their best endeavours to prevent our participating in it. His Majesty's Ministers were called to account upon this occasion, not for having unnecessarily plunged the country in a war; not because they had not taken the necessary, steps to preserve the peace of this country; but because they had not taken the steps necessary, as it was contended, to prevent a war between two powers, between whom there existed causes of irritation, which had a strong tendency to involve them in hostilities.

"One complaint was, that during the late negociations, his Majesty's Ministers had not assumed that high tone of remonstrance which became the government of this country. Now it appeared to him that there was some difficulty in clearly defining and understanding what was meant by a "high tone of remonstrance." Some members might imagine it was to be found in the angry and vehement declamation

of the noble member for New Sarum (Lord Folkestone); others, that it ought to be couched in the violent invective and bitter sarcasm of the member for Winchelsea (Mr. Brougham); while a third would, perhaps, be of opinion that it was to be discovered in the refined and epigrammatic satire of the mover of the original address (Mr. Macdonald); but under such conflicting opinions how were they to come to a decision? It was true that nothing was more easy than to deal out the harshest expressions, the grossest invectives against foreign powers; but would any honorable gentleman assert it to be right to pursue a similar course in diplomatic negociations? While he maintained that our language to our allies should be that of persuasion rather than that of menace, did he admit that this country had made no remonstrance against the aggressions of France? Did he admit that Ministers had not forcibly pointed out to those allied powers the dangerous consequences likely to result from such a course of proceeding, and had not decidedly opposed themselves to the projects of those powers? No: the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers had been of a nature diametrically opposite; in proof of which he

referred the House to the two last paragraphs of the confidential minute of Lord Castlereagh, on the affairs of Spain, addressed to the Courts of Austria, Prussia, France, and Russia, in May, 1820.

It is further said, observed Mr. Peel, that England had advised Spain to modify her institutions, that, if Spain had not desired the interference of Great Britain, and called for her advice, might not have been right under the circumstances; but England was called upon to act, and called upon by Spain, and the question really was, whether, as the case stood, the advice she gave was deserving of approbation or of censure? England was the third party, she saw from the nature of the dispute, and from the temper of the disputants, that there was no chance of reconciliation except concession was made as the price of that reconciliation. England advised that course, but she advised nothing disparaging to Spain. Nothing that would sink her character or encroach upon her independence; but it was one thing not to yield to the demands of France, and another to listen to the amicable and friendly suggestions of Great Britain. Spain, however, rejected the proposition as inadmissible, and the negociation

terminated. It had been said by the honorable gentleman who opened the debate (Mr. Macdonald) that we had been grossly deceived by the French Government. It certainly could not be denied that the conduct of France had been such as to excite very great surprise; but it was going a little too far to charge our Government with having suffered itself to be deceived, when the party with whom we were treating was changing its mind from day to day. We were not to be blamed because we could not anticipate such unexpected changes. Not more than five minutes, said Mr. Peel, did the honorable and learned gentleman employ in shewing that the country ought to have assumed a more dignified tone in the late negociations, and the arguments which he had subsequently addressed to the passions, the reason, and the judgment of the House, all went to show that the country ought to have proceeded to a declaration of war. He had referred frequently in his speech to the balance of power—and for what purpose? To convince the House that it was now in such jeopardy that we were bound to interfere for its preservation, even at the expense and hazard of being involved in a war.

The real question, however, was, did the honor of the country—and if the honor, did the interests of the country render it necessary that we should become a party to the war? Did then, the honor of the country require of us war?—no. Did its interests?—no. Did the faith of treaties?—no. Did the voice of the people of England? again he would boldly say —no. Did the Government of Spain require it? again, and again, he boldly answered—no. Since then, neither Spain, nor the voice of the people of England, nor the faith of treaties, nor the interests, nor the honor of the country required of us war; was there any reason for criminating the Government, because it had not resorted to such a course? With regard to that part of the argument on the other side, which was intended to prove that a dignified tone had not been maintained by us in the late negociations, he must say that a very artful attempt had been made to confound the different periods of those transactions; and that the instructions given by Mr. Canning in the first page of the correspondence, had been quoted to prove that when France first declared her intention of attacking Spain, our language had not been so strong and vigorous as it ought

to have been; the words of his Right Honorable friend, "That to such interference, come what may, his Majesty will not be a party," used at the very outset of the negociations, had been applied to events which had occurred three months afterwards, and had been quoted as the only remonstrance which we made to the French on their crossing the Bidassoa. The papers themselves furnished proof that this was not the case; and he therefore could not help complaining that such an assertion had ever been allowed to go forth to the public. It appeared to him that these negociations were divided into three distinct periods; the first, the period between the assembling and the close of the congress; the second, the time between the return of the Duke of Wellington to Paris, and the publication of the speech of the King of France; and the third, all the period which had since elapsed. The object of the British Government during the first of these periods, was to prevent a declaration being made against Spain by the Allied Powers. Now had such a declaration been made, or not? If it had not, how could it be justly said that the English negociator had been duped? indeed what was the language used by France

regarding these negociations? Why M. Montmorency said, that the measures which the French Government had contemplated for the amelioration of Spain would have succeeded, but for the conduct of England. That was at least an admission on the part of France that she did not consider her interests to have been forwarded by the part which we played at the late Congress. What was the opinion of Spain on the same point? Though she had complained of our conduct when she was unacquainted with it; as soon as she was informed of its effects, her minister, San Miguel said to Sir W. A'Court, on the 24th of December, "We are sure of England, and are satisfied with her position." Did San Miguel say that he expected that we should go to war? no such thing—but he pointed out the course which he considered would be most conducive to Spanish interests. He said, "There is nothing to induce us to ask for your mediation at present, but we are at sea, surrounded by difficulties, and menaced by storms, and it is impossible to say that we may not yet require a friendly hand." On a still later occasion the language of Spain, whom we are accused of not having favoured, was couched in the following terms.

"To England, who has taken, in the conferences at Verona, so moderate and pacific a line, it now belongs to crown her work." To crown her work! he wished the House to attend to the expression; did they think that the Spanish Minister would have made use of it, had he been dissatisfied with our conduct? Mr. Peel then proceeded to vindicate the mission of Lord Fitzroy Somerset to Madrid, against the censures which had been cast upon it; and contended that the advice which the Duke of Wellington offered through that nobleman to the members of the Spanish Government, was well calculated to promote its best interests. His Grace did not propose to them, to make any modifications in the Spanish constitution that were not clearly for its benefit and improvement. Was there any thing in the nature of those modifications to prevent their acceptance by Spain? or any thing in the menace of a third power, which made it imperative on her to reject them? What would have been the result had she accepted them? The withdrawal of the army of observation from the Pyrenées, to the presence of which they attributed so great a portion of their calamities. As at that moment the speech of the King of

France had not been made public, Spain might certainly have consented without any loss of honor; and by such consent she would have united her people, and ameliorated their condition more than she could do by any subsequent measure. He admitted, however, that after the French King's speech, such a modification could not have been submitted to Spain with propriety; but was it not too much that England should be made responsible for an entire change in the policy of the French Government.

In the course of his speech, Mr. Peel was repeatedly cheered, and at its conclusion he sat down amidst a loud and almost general expression of applause, from all parts of the House. The debate extended through the third night, when, it being evident that Ministers would have a large majority, the opposition wished to avoid a division, by inducing Mr. Macdonald to withdraw his motion. This course, however, was strongly opposed by the supporters and friends of the Government, who called loudly for a division. The House accordingly divided, when the numbers were for the motion 20; for the amendment 372; majority in favor of Ministers 352. This signal

triumph on the part of the Government, deterred their adversaries from bringing the subject forward again, as they had promised to do, in another shape.

The session had now advanced considerably, without the usual notice having, as yet, been given, regarding the Catholic claims, or any intimation of the intention existing on the part of any individual to bring forward for discussion, either upon the presenting petitions, or in any other way. It was the wish indeed of many friends of the Catholics, that the question of their claims should not be brought forward during the present session—Mr. Canning had expressed himself of that opinion. From the result, however, it appeared that the majority of those who favoured the cause were of a different opinion, and the 17th of April was accordingly fixed as the day on which the discussion should come on. The House was, as was usually the case upon this question, very full of members, and, in the course of a preliminary discussion, on the presenting a petition, Sir F. Burdett made some observations which led to a scene such as the interior of St. Stephens had seldom exhibited, and which at one time threatened to lead to results of serious

consequence to the individuals who sustained the principal parts in it, and which might, in its termination, have proved of great importance to the country at large. Sir Francis, in his address, declared his opinion to be, that these annual discussions of the question were a mere farce from which the real friends of the Catholics ought to withdraw themselves altogether; and alluding to some observations which had fallen from Mr. Canning in debate two or three nights previously, he reflected with much bitterness on that Right Honorable gentleman for his alleged defection from the cause of Emancipation. The Right Honorable gentleman, on the occasion in question, had stated that it was impossible the Catholic Claims could ever be sanctioned, in as much as no administration could, under existing circumstances, be formed which would carry that question. If such was the case, and such was Mr. Canning's opinion, why had that Right Honorable gentleman consented to practise deception upon the House and upon the country, year after year as he had done? Mr. Canning, in reply, denied that he had ever said he considered the Catholic question as hopeless; what he had said, was, that he thought it hopeless in the then state of

the country, and of the two Houses of Parliament, to form an administration which would agree upon the measure; he had always thought, and had repeatedly said, that the question would make its way under any Government, which did not actually unite, or openly set its face against it. It might, however, receive its death blow from the secession which had that evening been threatened; but if it did so fail, on the heads of the seceders alone let the blame of its failure be thrown. With respect to the observations which had been made on his own conduct, he asserted that, both in and out of office, but especially out of office, he had done every thing in his power to promote this great cause.

Mr. Peel, on this occasion, defended the line of conduct which he had adopted on this important measure, and was followed by Mr. Brougham, who, with his more than usual ardour of manner and language, uttered a warm eulogy on Mr. Peel, and an equally bitter invective against those members of the Cabinet, who, pretending zeal for the Catholics, were now ready, and, in fact, always did abandon that class of his Majesty's subjects to their fate at the moment when perseverance would have

insured success. "If," said Mr. Brougham, "the other Ministers had taken example by the single-hearted, plain, manly, and upright conduct of the Right Honorable Secretary for the Home Department, who had always been on the same side of the question, never swerving from his opinion, but standing uniformly up and stating it; who had never taken office upon a secret understanding to abandon the question in substance, while he continued to sustain it in words; whose mouth, heart, and conduct had always been in unison on the question,—if such had been the conduct of all the professed friends of Emancipation, he should not have found himself in a state almost bordering on despair with regard to the Catholic Claims. If the Right Honorable Secretary for Foreign Affairs had come forward at the critical moment for the question, and for his own character, when the point was whether he should go to India, into honorable exile, or take office in England, and not submit to his sentence of transportation, but be condemned to hard labour in his own country—doomed to the disquiet of a divided council—sitting with his enemies, and pitied by his friends—with his hands chained and tied down on all those lines

of operation, which his own sentiments and wishes would have led him to adopt—at that critical moment when his fate depended upon Lord Chancellor Eldon, and his sentiments with respect to the Catholics—if at that critical moment, he who had said, on the last night, that he would not truckle to a noble Lord, (Folkestone,) but who then had exhibited a specimen, a most incredible specimen of monstrous truckling, for the purpose of obtaining office, that the whole history of political tergiversation could furnish.

Mr. Secretary Canning. I rise to say that that is false.

The Speaker, after perfect silence, during some seconds, said, in a low tone, that an individual of the rank and station of the Right Honorable Secretary, could not fail to be aware that the expression which he had used was a complete violation of the orders and customs of the House. He trusted, therefore, that the Right Honorable gentleman would retract it.

Mr. Canning was sorry for having used any word which was a breach of the decorum of the House, but no consideration on earth should induce him to retract the sentiment.

The Speaker put it to the House whether

they would not support him in requiring Mr. Canning to call back his words.

Mr. Canning was ready to acknowledge, so far as the House was concerned, he was exceedingly sorry, but if he were to be required to recall his declaration by an admission that his impression was erroneous as to the expressions which had been applied to him, he could not, in conscience, do it.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer requested Mr. Brougham to consider, for a moment, the language which he had used, and he would see that it could not have been endured from one gentleman to another; he would be doing nothing inconsistent with his honor as a man, or as a member of that House, if he would enable his Right Honorable friend to retract the expression he had used, by admitting that the language he (Mr. Brougham) had adopted in addressing the House was not intended to convey a personal insult.

Mr. Tierney and Lord A. Hamilton here interfered, and insisted that Mr. Canning was not in a situation to call for any explanation until he had withdrawn the expression he had used, and the using of which was an acknowledged violation of the orders of the House.

Mr. Bankes then moved that both parties should be committed to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms.

During the whole of these proceedings Mr. Brougham remained silent, except that in reply to a request made of him by Mr. Winn, that he would explain the sense in which he had used the objectionable expressions, he refused to utter a word of explanation.

The House was thus left in a dilemma, from which there appeared to be no means of escape, and the Speaker was about to put the question which would have consigned the ministerial leader of the House of Commons and a principal member of the opposition to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, when—

Sir Robert Wilson suggested a course which appeared to him unobjectionable. He was convinced the expressions which had fallen from his learned friend were intended to apply to the Right Honorable gentleman in his political and not in his private capacity. Under this view of the question the Right Honourable gentleman might make a conditional retraction, so as to enable Mr. Brougham to disavow any purpose of personal offence.

Mr. Canning expressed his readiness to adopt

this proposition, he being understood to accede to it under the assurance that the learned gentleman denied the intention of conveying any personal imputation in the language he had used.

Mr. Brougham being called on by the Speaker, and by the House generally, said, he felt it was an extremely difficult thing to speak with the accuracy which had now become necessary of the expressions he had used. He would, however, tell the House what he meant to say. He had used the words "political tergiversation," and described the conduct of the Right Honorable gentleman as something which stood prominent in the history of Parliamentary tergiversation. The expression, he admitted was strong, but he entertained strong feelings, and he had meant to express them with respect to the Right Honorable member's public and political life. As a private individual he had never known aught of him which did not do him the highest honor. He surely had a right to speak of the Right Honorable gentleman's conduct as a statesman, which he deplored, and this he had done. He had not done so for any party, and still less for any

nal purpose, but because its consequences

were likely to prove a death blow to that cause, in the support of which they had both been engaged. Whether this explanation were full enough, or not, the Right Honorable gentleman must decide for himself.

Mr. Peel then put it to the House, whether it was not their sincere conviction that a satisfactory explanation had been given, and that the affair ought not to proceed further—Mr. Banks expressed himself satisfied, and withdrew his motion, and Mr. Tierney observed that it now only remained for the parties to say they would think no more of the matter.—Mr. Canning then rose, and gave the House the required assurance, and Mr. Brougham did the same.

So terminated this approximation to a personal quarrel, in which it must be confessed, Mr. Canning did not give sufficient consideration either to his own high endowments of mind and splendid talents, or to the exalted and responsible situation which he held as a servant of the crown. True it is, Mr. Brougham's language was harsh, and as far as can now be judged of, was unfounded; but it did not in fact exceed the bounds of political invective; it ought not to have been noticed

at all, but if noticed, it ought to have been met either by cool and temperate denial, or by a formal statement of circumstances. The intemperate language of irritation and passion was unworthy of Mr. Canning. To tell a man in private life that what he says is false, has a meaning and a result; to tell him the same thing in Parliament is mere passion and fury, and at the most is only a formal invitation to the House to commit him who uses such expressions to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms.

Tranquillity being thus restored, Mr. Brougham resumed his speech, and earnestly urged the friends of the Catholics not to relax their efforts, although certain of present failure, but to persevere, with the assurance that their perseverance must ultimately be crowned with success.

After several other members had spoken to the same effect, the Speaker called on Mr. Plunkett to proceed with his motion, on which Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Hume, Mr. Hobhouse, Lord Sefton, Sir R. Wilson, Mr. Creevey and several other members of the opposition rose and quitted the House. Mr. Plunkett concluded his address by moving that

" the House go into a committee on the Catholic Claims." A few remarks from Mr. Bankes and Mr. Beecher constituted the debate. It was moved that the debate be adjourned to the following day, this was negatived; it was then moved that the debate be adjourned to this day six months; and subsequently, " That this House do now adjourn." Upon this motion the House divided, when there appeared for the adjournment 313, against it 111. Majority for the adjournment 202.

The question was not further discussed during the session.

Lord Nugent subsequently brought in a bill, the object of which was to place the English Catholics on a footing of equality with the Irish, by giving them the elective franchise. The Bill was supported by Mr. Canning, but opposed by Mr. Bankes, whose principal objection to it was, that the adoption of such a measure would be the first step to other encroachments; and that it would, in fact, be inconsistent to give Catholics the right of voting for Members of Parliament, and not making them, at the same time, eligible to sit themselves.

Mr. Peel took a different view of the subject.

He declared he could not see how, upon granting the elective franchise to Catholics, he was at all bound to grant them the further right of sitting in Parliament. In fact, the two things, he said, had no connection with each other. The honorable member for Corfe Castle had said, " this measure gives us a class of men, who may make members, but who cannot become members of Parliament themselves." Why what was there new in that? From the different rights attending to different kinds of property, there were already thousands of men in the country, who could vote for members of Parliament, and yet could not sit in Parliament themselves; and on the other hand, there were many who were competent to sit in the House, but who had not a qualification for voting. There were for instance the Clergy of England, a whole body of individuals who were excluded by law, from sitting in Parliament, although they possessed, or might possess the elective franchise. As for danger in the measure then proposed, he saw none; and he denied that it bound its advocates to support any ulterior one. The Catholics of England were few in number, and even in Lancashire, the county in which they were most numerous, he did not believe

they would have influence enough to return a single member. The existing law of exclusion was one of the very worst character. Its enforcement depended on the pleasure of individuals who would never make use of it upon public grounds, or upon principle, because the individual who barred the Catholic from voting was always the party against whom he was going to vote. He thought that the admission of Catholics to vote could do no mischief, but that much advantage might accrue out of that community of feeling between Catholic and Protestant which the bustle of an election would produce. He should, therefore, give his ready support to the measure. The Bill, thus supported by Mr. Peel, passed the Commons without difficulty, but was lost in the Lords by a majority of seven, on the motion for the second reading: there being for the second reading 73; against it 80.

T. C. Newby, Printer, 65, Mortimer Street, Cavendish Square.

MR. NEWBY,

65, MORTIMER STREET, CAVENDISH SQUARE,

HAS JUST PUBLISHED

(In Three Vols. Post 8vo.)

MISS E. PICKERING'S NEW NOVEL,

"THE EXPECTANT,"

By the Author of "The Fright," "Nan Darrell," "The Secret Foe," &c.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"If Bulwer, from the power of his eloquence, may be compared to a mighty torrent, which bears down all opposition; so Miss Pickering, from her lively, graceful purity of style, may be likened to a bright sparkling stream, gliding through pleasant meadows, cheering and enlivening all around." —HERALD.

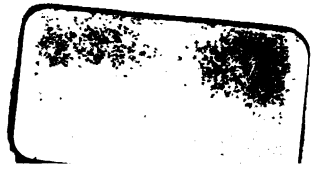
"The story of 'The Expectant' is much beyond the general run, being more interesting and more probable, based on a knowledge of society, if not of life; and as regards mere composition, beyond all compare."—SPECTATOR.

" Endowed with a keen insight into the springs of human action, unaccompanied by that bitterness and disappointment which are so frequently the results of too nice a scrutiny of our fellow men, Miss Pickering supplies the deficiencies of creative power by the force and depth of her observations, which enable her to convey in bold and vigorous touches to the canvas all that is original or eccentric in real life, while the nicer and more delicate sketches of character lose nothing in her hands."—CONSERVATIVE JOURNAL.

" Miss Pickering delights in selecting the most familiar subjects, wisely preferring to invest every day life with the warm and truthful colouring of a healthy imagination, than to give birth to the diseased creations of a sickly sentimentality, which finds no resemblance save in the disordered fancies of a boarding school girl."—NATIONAL ADVERTISER.

" ' The Expectant' is remarkable for the elegance of its style and the depth of observation which it displays. We know no writer who combines vigour and grace to such an extent as Miss Pickering."---INVENTOR'S ADVOCATE.

" If there is less of what is called originality in Miss Ellen Pickering's work, there is more of nature and of truth."--CITY CHRONICLE.

" Though the construction of Miss Pickering's works cannot always be said to be calculated according to the strict rules of art, she is not the less an artiste of a very high order, for she departs from them only to give greater effect to her pictures ; and never exceeds the bounds of a sound discretion." BRITISH QUEEN.

" ' The Expectant' is inferior in no respect to the preceding works of this charming writer, and he must be fastidious indeed, who will not rise pleased and satisfied from its perusal." LEICESTER JOURNAL.